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SPAIN

UNDER

CHARLES THE SECOND.

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SPAIN

UNDER

CHARLES THE SECOND;

OR,

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE HON. ALEXANDER STANHOPE,

BRITISH MINISTER AT MADRID.

1690—1699.

FROM THE ORIGINALS AT CHEVENING.

“Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.”

TACIT.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXL.



SPAIN

UNDER

CHARLES THE SECOND.

ALEXANDER STANHOPE, the youngest son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, was born in 1639. In 1689, he was appointed British Minister at Madrid, where he continued till 1699, when he was ordered to quit the kingdom; the Spanish Government being deeply and justly offended at the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition. He was then appointed Minister at the Hague, and remained there till shortly before his death in 1707.

He married a daughter of Arnold Burghill, Esq. of Thingehill Parva, in the county of Hereford, and his eldest son, James, was the first Earl Stanhope.

The following Extracts have been selected from his very numerous letters and despatches which are preserved at Chevening. He has also left a MS. work "On the Causes of the Decay of the Spanish Government, under the Kings of the Austrian family,"—and the great Lord Chatham,

to whom it was shown sixty years afterwards, stated in the letter with which he returned it: "The whole piece is full of sagacity and judgment."

The correspondence now presented to the reader will, it is hoped, in a compendious form, display a vivid and authentic picture of Spain during the ten years, so interesting to all Europe, which preceded the death of the last of the Austrian Kings. — If it should be thought that the Spanish statesmen, or the Spanish generals — their councils or their armies — have been portrayed by Mr. Stanhope in too dark colours, it should be borne in mind, that the period in question was when manifold corruptions, and long-continued misrule, had reduced the Spanish nation to the lowest point of decline which it ever has known, and that it had not then the opportunity, which the War of the Succession so soon afterwards afforded, of evincing anew its constancy and courage.

MAHON.

Chevening, August, 1839.

SPAIN
UNDER
CHARLES THE SECOND.

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

The Groyne (Coruña), April, 1690.

THIS is the first opportunity I have had of writing since we came into Spain, where we were forced into a small port called Ferrol, three leagues short of the Groyne, and by the ignorance of a Spanish pilot our ships fell foul one with another, and the Admiral's * ship was on ground for some hours, but got off clear without any damage. The storm was very violent. The Queen of Spain † landed at Ferrol, to come by land for the Groyne; she stays by the way at the Conde de Lemos' house, and is expected here this day to dinner, where there is a great concourse of Grandees to

* Admiral Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford.

† Maria Anna of Neuburg, second wife of Charles the Second of Spain, and sister to the Empress, and to the Queen of Portugal. She was just betrothed, and on her way to her husband.

receive her, and fireworks prepared for her entertainment. . . . The King will be at Valladolid to meet her.

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Coruña, April 19. 1690.

THE Queen of Spain left this place the 15th, where I am forced still to continue, till the mules which went in her Majesty's train return back from Astorga, which will be about fifteen days. . . . I find the Queen's reception has been much meaner than it would have been, out of a pique the Spanish Grandees have against Count Mansfeld, who was preferred before them all to the honour of bringing her over, by the favour of the Queen Mother, contrary to the advice of the Council of Castille. The officers of our fleet are all dissatisfied, both with their presents and manner of reception, as your Lordship will hear at large from Mr. Russell.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, SECRETARY
OF STATE.

Madrid, August 9. 1690.

THE Archbishop of Zaragoza succeeds the Conde de Oropesa in the Council of Castille, but has not the title of *Presidente*, only *Governador del Consejo*.

Oropesa continues in effect *Valido*, though without the name, and is in my opinion the ablest man I have met with in Spain.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, September 13. 1690.

AN envoy is going from this Court to the King of Marocco, to treat about the redemption of the prisoners taken at Larache, which is the first any King of Spain has ever sent to a Mahometan Prince, since the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain.

The merchants from our ports ply me with complaints of the violences they suffer, contrary to our articles of peace; and I am not negligent in soliciting my *Commissary*, the Marques of Mancera, and the Northern Secretary of State, for redress, by repeated memorials, but have not yet been able to obtain an answer to any one. I know not what any more to do.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, September 27. 1690.

OUR new President or Governor of Castille shows himself a great Justiciary, obliging the Grandees to pay their debts, and put their mis-

tresses into monasteries *, of which there are several pleasant stories. He calls for accounts from all treasurers of the public revenue, and particularly of the town of Madrid, who have a considerable part of it engaged to them. His severity makes many people tremble, and he himself is not without his own fears, as appears by his not eating or drinking any thing, but what passes through his niece's hands.

I am assured by a gentleman, who was at the Palace this morning, that the King has sent to the Conde de Oropesa not to come to Court hereafter, without demanding audience like other people, whereas he had before a master-key, which opened all doors, which gave him entrance to the King at all hours.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, October 22. 1690.

LAST Friday I presented His Majesty's letter to the King and Queen Mother; the answer, being always the same, I need not repeat. I omitted not to turn the Parliament's liberality into 20,000,000 of pieces of eight, which seems to the Spaniards a sum incredible; and has mightily raised the reputation of our King and country in their opinion, which I find as well by the discourse of others, as the dispatch of some memorials, to

* I presume he means *Convents*.

which I could get no answer before, in our merchants' affairs.

I received the good news of the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, with the votes of Parliament, the eve of His Majesty's birthday, to spread which about with the more *éclat* and noise, the next night I made illuminations, had the King's trumpets and kettle-drums, and treated all that passed with wine in the streets, where I saw that the Spaniards are not so sober a people as we believe, when they may be otherwise *at another's* cost.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, December 6. 1690.

THE Flota arrived at Cadiz the 19th of last month; the whole is computed 18 millions of pieces of eight, whereof little will come into the King's coffers, by reason of the great assignments given here beforehand, to be paid in the Indies, which they say were all complied with there by the Viceroy, notwithstanding the private orders sent hence to the contrary. The want of money here is very great, and rather like to grow worse than mend.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, January 10. 1691.

OUR Marocco ambassador is at last fallen to an envoy. I saw him go to audience, where was an

extraordinary concourse of people to see him, for the rarity of the thing, and the oddness of the dress, as little known here as with us. His business is only to treat about the redemption of the prisoners taken at Larache. It is adjusted he is to have ten Moors a piece for a hundred officers, and the common men to be exchanged man for man.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, March 7. 1691.

OF the discourteous usage towards Their Majesties' squadron at Cadiz, as I received the particulars successively from Colonel Aylmer, the Consul, and the captains concerned, I have made complaints here by repeated memorials, without any success hitherto. This is a proceeding very unsuitable to the present obligations they owe our King, whom they do not disown at this time to be their protector. I have made instances here for above three months past in behalf of our merchants of Malaga, who, after they had bought great quantities of fruit and wines according to the prices set as usual by the Government of the town, and the King's duties *pro rata*, yet the officers of the custom-house refused to let them ship off the said commodities without paying greater customs, only upon pretence that the magistrates had set the prices too low, which, if not speedily remedied, will be the loss of all their returns of this

year. I cannot yet obtain the liberty of five Englishmen in the Spanish gallies, though I have solicited it ever since I came.

The Marques de Leganez goes next week to his government of Milan ; he has bills for 300,000 crowns, and promises of 50,000 crowns a month for eight months. I intend to take the opportunity to send my son over with him, and that from thence he shall pass into Piedmont to serve this campaign.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, March 21. 1691.

THE poor Envoy of Savoy entertained me yesterday two hours with the lamentable state of his master's affairs, that the Spaniards have not above three thousand men in Milan, and that his master has not money to pay those he has already. He is in desperation to see the supineness and impotence of the Spaniards, who, to save their Duchy of Milan, have with great difficulty consented to make one Grillo, a Genoese banker, a Grandee of Spain, for which he pays 300,000 pieces of eight, and the adjusting that matter has been the occasion of the Marques de Leganez's so long stay, who ought to have been gone two months since.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, April 11. 1691.

WE are not likely to have any dispute with Spain about the command upon the joining of our fleet ; for after all the noise they have made of their great preparations, and the Marques de Mancera telling me several times they would have two or three and twenty men of war early at sea, I cannot learn, by the best inquiries I have made, they have above four in any tolerable readiness, and those not half manned either. And if they send out their Flota to the Indies, which I fear is much pressed by the Court, they will not be able to man one ship of war.

I am much abused here in my letters, for though our King is at the whole charge of the packet boats, yet they make me pay for my letters as if they came all the way by land. I paid for a packet yesterday from England, three pistoles. I have complained to the Secretary of State and others, but find them all very shy to meddle in any thing that may disoblige the Conde de Oñate, *Correo Mayor*.

JAMES STANHOPE * TO HIS FATHER AT MADRID.

Alicant, April 27. 1691.

SIR,

THIS is to give you an account of my safe arrival at this place the 26th of this month, eight days after having left Madrid, between which and Alicant there is no place worth giving you an account of, except

* Afterwards General, and Earl Stanhope, born in 1673.

Aranjuez, where we arrived next day after we left you. . . . We spent all the time we staid at that place in walking about the gardens, groves, and walks, which indeed I wished my mother could have seen at the same time I did, it being, I believe, as pleasant a place to spend a fortnight or three weeks of spring in as any in Europe. . . . We made no stay between that and Alicant, there being not one good town or good inn in all the road, and we went sometimes above forty English miles without meeting with so much as one house, except a wretched Venta, where the Marques Clerici and all of us were forced to eat and lie with our mules. We arrived at Alicant the next day after the Marques de Leganez. The country hereabouts is extremely fruitful, and full of orange-trees, vines, fig-trees, olives, pomegranates, and palm-trees. As soon as I arrived, I went to Mr. Dolman, who was very civil to me, but excused my lodging in his house, by reason there was a large family and women in it. So he carried me to an inn, where I am to pay two pieces of eight a day for my lodging and diet, whether I eat there or no. Next day I dined with him and Sir Thomas Jeffries, who live together in a very good new house which they built themselves. We had a very plentiful dinner, but after the Spanish fashion, there appearing no women.*

The Marques de Clerici's waggons, in which is my trunk and box, are not yet arrived, because the

* This Oriental exclusion of women is evidently a relic of the Moors in Spain, but the reader will be surprised to observe it still lingering two centuries after their surrender of Granada.

mules which were hired for them were pressed for the King's use.

Their houses here are all flat-roofed, and they walk on them in the evening and look out upon the sea, from whence there generally comes a pleasant breeze. This country of Valencia seems to be another nation from the parts of Spain I have seen, their language being wholly different, and liker Italian much than Spanish. They have likewise another sort of coin here from that of Castille, and none of the copper money used there passes here. Neither do they count by reals vellon, but all reals plate, eight and thirty of which make a pistole, for the pieces of eight here are worth near ten reals plate, and consequently the *doblones* increase in their value.

I shall write to you again before I embark ; in the mean time I desire, Sir, you will present my humble duty to my mother, and be pleased to accept of the same yourself, from, Sir, your most obedient and dutiful Son and Servant,

JAMES STANHOPE.

JAMES STANHOPE TO HIS FATHER AT MADRID.

Palma (in Majorca), May 5. 1691.

SIR,

I ARRIVED here the 3d inst., and could get but very ill accommodations, by reason of the concourse of people which are here at this time to assist at the Auto de Fé, which began this week, for Tuesday last there were burnt here twenty-seven Jews and

heretics, and to-morrow I shall see executed above twenty more ; and Tuesday next, if I stay here so long, is to be another *Fiesta*, for so they entitle a day dedicated to soexecrable an act. The greater part of the criminals that are already, and will be put to death, were the richest men of the island, and owners of the best houses in this city.

The inhabitants call the town, as well as the island, Mallorca, though its true name is Palma. The island, they say, is 120 leagues about, very fruitful, but abounds chiefly in oil, of which there goes every year great quantities into England and Holland. Their language here is the same with that of the Catalans, who conquered this country.

The reason of our stay here is to careen the galleys, that they may be better able to run away in case of necessity ! I go with the Marques Clerici, who is as civil to me as I can expect from a wretch who grudges himself meat, much more me. So I eat with the captain, who entertains also several officers that go to Milan. When I go ashore, I constantly go to court to the Marques de Leganez, who is extremely civil to me, and bid me to-day, in raillery, have a care how I behave myself here, lest they put me in the Inquisition ! I have nothing more at present, but that I am, Sir, &c. &c.,

JAMES STANHOPE.*

* The address of this letter and of the preceding denotes the Spanish ceremonial at that time :

Al Señor Alexandro Stanhope,

(Que Dios Guarde Muchos Años)

Embiado Ex^{rio} de Su Magestad Bretanica
en Madrid.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, June 13. 1691.

HERE has happened lately a great quarrel between the alguazils and the King's guard of archers, occasioned by an alguazil's meeting one of the said guard at an unseasonable hour, who refusing to give an account of himself, the alguazil struck him in the face, not knowing who he was. Next day the archers got in a body together, fell upon the alguazils wherever they met them in the streets, killed three, and wounded several others. This disorder lasted several days, and honest M. de Lira, thinking it a scandal to the government, spoke to the King to punish the insolence of the archers. The Constable * happening to be present, excused or justified them, and gave M. de Lira some hard words he could neither digest nor have satisfaction for.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, June 27. 1691.

YESTERDAY the Conde of Oropesa left Madrid, banished by the King's express command, delivered to him two days before by Don Eugenio Marban, Secretario de la Camera. They say it was occasioned in this manner: that about a month before, the

* The Constable of Castille, a high hereditary office.

Duque de Aviera or Arcos, in the name of most of the Grandees, represented to the King the calamitous estate of the monarchy in a long memorial, insinuating that all was occasioned by the mal-administration of the Conde of Oropesa, to which some speedy and effectual remedy ought to be applied. The King, as his custom is, gave the paper to the Conde, who thereupon excused and justified himself by another paper to the King; after which the matter remaining quiet for some time, the Duke returned to repeat his instances by word of mouth, insisting that the Conde might be removed from meddling any more in the direction of affairs, and that if his Majesty did not apply the remedy, the kingdom must take care for its own preservation; which resolute behaviour so startled the King, that after he had advised with the Queen Mother *, who, as is believed, was beforehand possessed in the business, he gave a decree for banishing the Conde, who, so soon as he had notice of it, desired hard to kiss the King's hand, which being granted, he desired his Majesty would give him leave to retire himself in a garden-house he has here in the skirts of Madrid; but the King denied it, and commanded him to go to his own estate, and he is accordingly upon his journey towards Oropesa, his own town, in Estremadura. The Queen Consort would not see him, the Queen Mother at first refused it, but by his importunity

* Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III., and widow of King Philip IV.

at last admitted him ; and when he told her that, in obedience to the King's command, he was leaving the Court, she answered, "'Tis well, Conde : it " ought to have been done long before ! "

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 5. 1691.

MR. FREEMAN left us last Sunday. The same day I engaged in his place a Swiss Protestant, a jeweller, formerly recommended to me by your friend Raab, who going from me that night to his old lodging, promising to return and bring his trunk next morning to stay for altogether, he not coming at his hour, I sent to see what was become of him, and Mr. Champion found the officers of the Holy Office registering what little he had, and they told him the person he inquired for was carried away prisoner, by six that morning, by orders of the Inquisition, never, as I suppose, to be heard of more ; and every body tells me I can have no remedy !

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, October 11. 1691.

WE had here last night a *Mascara* on horseback, where many of the Grandees ran before the Palace

in very glorious tinsel equipages for joy at the King and Queen's recovery; just such another business as you saw at the Coruña. We had also luminaries all over the town.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, October 31. 1691.

THE 23d instant, Mr. Greenwood, my chaplain, died of a dysentery, when I, not knowing how to dispose of his body, there being no place assigned for burying his Majesty's subjects, as by our articles of peace there ought to be, and desirous to proceed with the greatest caution possible not to give offence, and to avoid any disturbance that might happen among a people that have such an abhorrence to our religion, upon the burial of one of our ministers, thought I could not apply myself more properly for protection against the rabble than to the Corregidor de Madrid, who at present is brother to Don Pedro de Ronquillo. So I sent him a message acquainting him with what had happened, and desiring the favour of him to appoint some place in the fields, in some piece of ground belonging to the town, where we might lay the body to rest in quiet, and that he would please to appoint some officer to be present at the interment, to prevent any mischief which might happen, or that my servants who assisted might not be taken as

murderers, burying somebody they had assassinated in private. The Corregidor received the application with great civility, said he could do nothing in it without the approbation of the President of Castille, and offered himself to accompany my agent immediately to him. So they went together to the President, and after the President and Corregidor had discoursed some time alone, the Corregidor came out to my agent, telling him the President had ordered an alguazil should go along with him, and they two choose any place in the fields near the town they should judge proper for the occasion, and that the alguazil should be ready to attend at the place, at the time appointed, the same evening ; all which was accordingly done, and I sent the body out in my coach between 7 and 8 at night, with half a dozen of my servants; and the alguazil meeting them as was appointed, they laid the body in the grave, and so departed. I hoped he might have rested in quiet till the resurrection, but next day about 5 in the afternoon I found I was mistaken, when word was brought me it was taken up by an Alcalde, and carried to the Carcel de Corte, the coffin broke open, his shroud torn off, the body exposed to public view, and a consult of surgeons sat upon him, on pretence it was some person murdered. I sent my secretary immediately to the President of Castille, who being then in a Junta of Council, could not be spoken with, but the complaint being sent into him, he only ordered that the body should

be restored to my secretary, whereas he might have considered I was in the same difficulties how to proceed as at first, and that a body, after having been buried a day and a night, and taken up again, will not admit of the Spanish phlegm in resolving what is to be done with it. To conclude, the body was again brought to my house, and I forced immediately to bury it in my cellar. They had cut and mangled it in several parts, and some not decent to be named, and tore off most of the hair of his head. This happened on Thursday last, and is the general entertainment of all companies in town; yet to this hour I have not had any message either from the President or the Alcalde who acted the barbarity to excuse it, so that I could no longer dissemble so sensible an affront, believing Their Majesties' honour highly concerned therein, as well as the law of nations and humanity itself notoriously violated. I send your Lordship a copy of the memorial which I delivered on Monday to the Marques de Mancera.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, November 21. 1691.

THE 18th, I received from the Marques de Mancera an answer to my memorial, of which I herewith send your Lordship a copy. It contains so ample satisfaction, that I think nothing more

can be desired. I am told it was carried unanimously in the Council. . . . The Alcalde is not yet removed out of town, but will go in a day or two, after which, not to be behind hand with them in point of generosity, I think it will look well here that I intercede with this King for his return to Madrid, and restoration to his office, which I intend so soon as he is gone.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, December 5. 1691.

THREE or four days ago came out a *Pracmatica*, for reforming excesses in apparel, coaches, mournings, &c., which makes great noise at present, but they say is likely to be forgotten in a month, as all others have been in less.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, January 9. 1692.

THE poor Alcalde is, by my intercession for him, returned to Court, and to the exercise of his office; but the chagrin for his disgrace has struck him with a dead palsy, which is like to cost him his life.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, February 20. 1692.

THE Elector of Brandenburg has a gentleman here to solicit arrears he pretends, but is not like to get a shilling; for, notwithstanding the noise the galleons have made in the world of so many millions, the distress the public is in at this very time is hardly to be believed, great industry and artifices being employed to borrow very considerable sums, and most commonly in vain.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, March 19. 1692.

A GREAT meeting has lately happened at Bilbao, the people rising in arms against the Juez de Contrabanda, sent them down by the King, insisting on their privilege, that the Corregidor and Juez de Contrabanda ought to be the same person, proclaiming the person sent down a traitor with sound of drums and trumpets, who was forced to shift away to save his life. The Corregidor refused to act as Juez de Contrabanda, and this happening at a time when ours and the Dutch convoy were newly arrived, a total stop was put to the unlading of the ships, which the merchants representing to me as a great prejudice to their trade, and

which would probably hinder them from being ready to load back by the same convoy, I gave in a memorial to desire the matter might be settled some way or other, that the merchants might not suffer so great an inconveniency, to which, this day, the Marques de Mancera answered me in writing, the King had appointed a new person to go down immediately, and exercise the office both of Corregidor and Juez de Contrabanda to all their satisfaction.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, April 2. 1692.

I AM very unhappy in the present Secretary of State for the north, Don Crispin Botello, through whose hands all my papers must pass; he is above fourscore years old, and has quite outlived his memory, insomuch that after I have sometimes expected an answer to a business three months, I have afterwards learnt that it was forgot to be delivered; and when I have minded him of it again, he did not remember to have heard of it before.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, May 9. 1692.

I CANNOT omit to acquaint your Lordship with a discourse I had three days ago with the Envoy

of the Duke of Lorraine here, who is a Milanese and a churchman. We were talking of the present state of affairs in Flanders, and the little care this Court seems to have for its preservation, giving out publicly that the Dutch and we are more concerned in its defence than they. Upon which he told me they were so weary of the charge, that there has lately been held a consult about delivering it up to the Dutch, to which there appeared a great inclination, but no resolution was taken till they had first advised with the divines, being a matter of conscience as well as state. The divines being consulted, were unanimously against it, as being unlawful to deliver up so many good Catholics to the absolute will and pleasure of an heretical government.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, September 10. 1692.

OUR new Junta has done nothing more since the stopping of all *mercedes*, or pensions, which are very considerable, but are upon a great many other projects to raise money, and it now appears that was the only design of the institution.

The ship from the Havaña brings news of the death of the famous Valenzuela *, who was killed

* Don Fernando de Valenzuela was an *hidalgo* of Grenada, and began life as page to the Duke de Infantado. After the death of the Duke, he obtained a scanty subsistence at Madrid,

by the kick of a horse in Mexico, upon which the Queen Mother, who would never since his banishment name another Master of her Horse, now declares she will do it.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, October 22. 1692.

I HAD often solicited the Marques de Mancera for his Catholic Majesty's letter to the Governor of

as a poet and dramatic author ; but his marriage with Donna Eugenia, a lady in the household of the Queen Regent, attracted her Majesty's notice. His youth, his handsome person, and lively insinuating temper, soon recommended him to her especial favour, and he rose by rapid steps to the highest employments. Finally, he was declared Prime Minister. His imprudent vanity, however, offended the pride, as his sudden elevation roused the jealousy, of his countrymen. His usual device on public festivals was an eagle gazing at the sun, with the significant motto, *Tengo solo licencia*. When, in January 1677, the young King escaped from his mother's palace, and asserted his sovereign authority, the resentment of the people, and of the new administration, was turned chiefly against Valenzuela. He took refuge in the monastic palace of the Escorial, where he remained securely concealed behind a panel of the wainscot, though the monastery was several times searched by the Royal officers ; but the closeness of this confinement having affected his health, he summoned the surgeon of the monks to bleed him, under the most solemn obligations to secrecy. The surgeon nevertheless betrayed him, and the fallen minister was discovered and arrested when asleep, with his loaded pistols and a sword by his side. He was banished to the Philippine Islands, where his confinement, at first rigorous, was gradually mitigated, and he was allowed to amuse himself by representations of his own plays. In 1689 he was, as a further favour, permitted to remove to Mexico, and to receive a yearly pension.

Hispaniola, before I received your last commands, as I have done twice since, of which I see no effect. The King indeed is at the Escorial, which may delay it for the present; but why it was not done in six weeks before I cannot understand, unless it be to maintain an uniformity in all their proceedings, and to do nothing that is for their own advantage.

Our new Junta, which raised so great expectations at first, is now almost grown a jest, especially since, at the same time they took away all pensions from poor widows and orphans, the Duke of Osuna, one of the richest men in Spain, procured himself one of 6000 crowns a year for life, and that by the intercession of the Confessor, who is a member of the Junta.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, December 3. 1692.

THE projects of the new Junta have produced little or nothing. The President, they say, is now hot upon a design of calling in all the coin, both gold and silver, to be new marked and raised in value a fourth part, by which the King will get 20 per cent. upon all the money in Spain. This is yet but discourse, yet not without examples, and likely enough to be resolved by a people, who take all the ways they can invent to ruin themselves.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, December 17. 1692.

SINCE my last, I have received two letters from the Marques de Mancera, the copies of which, Englished, I send your Lordship. Though I have very frequently solicited those two points, yet I could not procure an answer sooner, which is the less strange, since they manage all their own affairs with the same phlegm, seldom resolving any thing till the occasion be past. I am myself much discouraged by the little success I meet in most of my pretensions here for his Majesty's service, yet I cannot but remember, with great comfort, his Majesty's expressions to me, when I had the honour to kiss his hands, at my coming away ; that I must arm myself with great patience, in bearing the slow motions I should meet with at this Court ; which makes me hope his Majesty will make the more gracious and benign interpretation of my actions.

Two days ago, to the great surprise of the whole Court, was declared a new President of Castille, viz. Don Manuel Arias, ambassador of Malta, but a natural Spaniard, and of an ancient family in Castille. He enters his office this day, and I am well acquainted with him ; we having exchanged several visits. But that is an honour I must expect no more, for a President of Castille visits nobody, nor gives the hand to any in his own house. He has the reputation of a very cunning man ; what I can say is, he

seems very well versed in the affairs of the world, and an extremely civil and well bred gentleman. Here is a hot rumour of a *Valido* to be suddenly declared, though they do not agree in the person. Some say the Conde de Monterey, others the Duke of Montalto, but of this nothing is certain. I heartily wish it were done, for then I should know who to apply to, whereas no body prétends to do any thing, and so nothing is done.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, January, 1693.

I RECEIVED, in twelve days, the welcome news of the votes of the House of Commons, concerning the supplies to his Majesty for the carrying on the war this present year; and having, the same afternoon, an hour of audience appointed by the King, to make him the customary compliment of the day, I thought it not improper to acquaint him with it; so turning the sum into Spanish money, I told him the Parliament had given our King six and twenty millions of pieces of eight, which I believed his Majesty would be well pleased to hear, since it was all designed to be employed against his enemies. To this, after a little pause, he answered me, *Bien puede ser*, and to my compliment on the occasion of the day, I had as usual, *Asi lo creo*. I find that generally they will not believe it possible, in which they

seem to have reason, since they are able to do so little for their King. The present exigencies of this monarchy are inconceivable, most of the bills they have sent for Flanders lately being sent back protested. Last week the King laid his hand on all the effects of the famous Genoese banker, Grillo, appointing him an *interventor*, as they call him, without whose intervention and consent he is not to pay the least sum to any person on whatsoever account. The pretence is great arrears due to the King, upon the revenue of the cruzada of which he was farmer. In this manner they have broke and ruined several eminent merchants and bankers: the Marques de Tamarit is the only one remaining, and it is expected that he will ere long have the same fate.

TO THE MARQUES DE MANCERA.

[Translation.]

Madrid, February 28. 1693.

MY LORD,

As soon as your Excellency communicated to me, by your letter of the 3d of this month, the orders his Catholic Majesty had given for the prevention of frauds and abuses committed to the prejudice of the Royal revenue, and that no person pretend exemption from paying duties, nor countenance the defrauding, I gave strict command to my whole family punctually to observe them,

though I am fully certain none of them have been guilty of this crime, having, from my first entrance into this Court, severely enjoined the contrary. This being supposed, which your Excellency may be fully satisfied of without the least doubt or scruple, I cannot omit acquainting your Excellency how my wife, going yesterday, being Sunday, into the country to take the air, in the company of my son, a little boy of ten years old, and two maids, came to a village called Alameda, whither she used often to go for her diversion, and finding it convenient to stay all night in the village, as she did, being something indisposed and with child, sent the coach back to Madrid with the little boy and the maid, and at their going out of the village three soldiers stopped it, who called themselves *Guardas de las rentas*, to register it, and though they were told it was my coach, and that my son was in it, they had so little respect as not only to search it, but to pull the little boy from his seat, and behaving themselves towards him insolently and rudely, though they found nothing liable to register in it. Now, because this action is not only strange and unheard of, but contrary to the law of nations, which is formally violated in such a public disrespect, whereas the coach or coaches in which either I am in, or my wife, or my sons, ought to be considered with the same prerogative, immunity, and respect, as what the houses in which I live may, by virtue of that sacredness which is inviolably observed to all ministers of crowned heads :— I beseech your

Excellency to lay before his Majesty what has happened, that he may be pleased to command those three soldiers, whose names it will be easy to know in Alameda, be sent for, and that public reparation may be made me for this insult, and they punished as they deserve.

ALEXANDER STANHOPE.

REPLY OF THE MARQUES DE MANCERA.

[Translation.]

Buen Retiro, March 9. 1693.

IN view of the memorial of your *Señoría* upon the registering of your coach by some guard soldiers at its coming out of Alameda, your young son being in it, the King, my master, has been pleased to order me, having seen the *oficio* of the 28th of February last past, to answer your *Señoría* as I do — That as to the resolution taken for the better recovery of the Royal revenue and preventing frauds, it was duly weighed and considered, upon which followed the communication of it to your *Señoría* as to other foreign ministers, and his Majesty's commands to his abroad to conform to the same law in their respective residences, upon which his Majesty at present thinks not fit to alter it. And finding that because the Marques del Fresno, being his Majesty's

Ambassador Extraordinary in England, the year 1673, trimmed his coach with studs of iron about the top, which served as a valance for the garnitures upon black cloth, on an occasion of mourning so strict as the death of the Empress Margaret, daughter of King Philip the Fourth, and sister to his Majesty, he had intimation given him, by the Master of the Ceremonies from the King, to take it off, though there was neither *præmatica* nor custom against it, as the Marques alleged in his complaint to my Lord Arlington, which forbid the sort of garniture. So that having thus obliged our ambassador, only by virtue of a forgotten, or misunderstood, ceremony, to the mortification of laying aside a coach, in which he had appeared often at Court, though upon an occasion so indispensable, it makes it the more strange that your Señoria should formalize in a case where formalities of ceremonies are not in question, but the importance of securing and preventing the many and prejudicial frauds in the recovery of the revenue of his Majesty, which care and consideration, his Majesty commands me to signify to your Señoria, whom may God preserve many years, as I desire.

I kiss the hand of your Señoria.

MARQUES DE MANCERA.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, March 11. 1693.

I HAVE had a long conference with the Marques de Mancera about the affair of my coach, wherein I highly aggravated the nature of the insult, and that the world would wonder, that to make the first experiment of so extraordinary an innovation, they should choose to execute it on the Minister of a Prince the most considerable of all their allies, and in this conjuncture the greatest support of their monarchy, for the preservation of which he was daily exposing his person, and employing all the power of his kingdoms: to this he answered, the same had since been done to the Emperor's ambassador's coach; but when I asked when and where? he could not satisfy me, and upon inquiry since, I cannot find there has been any such thing, so that he said it only to serve a present turn. M. de Schonenberg * continues my zealous solicitor; he was with me this afternoon, and tells me my letter was debated in Council yesterday, that it goes up to the King to-day, and that my warm discourse with the Marques de Mancera, which he did me the justice to repeat *verbatim* in Council, has had a very good effect among them, and is much applauded by all the foreign ministers, who have had the account of it from the councillors of state, so that I hope the matter may end well. The Venetian ambassador had an encounter the first of this month with the

* The Minister of Holland.

Conde de Añover, son to the Duque de Arcos, captain of the Castillian guard ; who, being a young spark, and courting one of the ladies of the palace, in a procession the King and Court yearly make that day to a chapel called Del Angel, made his coach interpose between the King's coaches and the ambassador's ; the coachmen began the quarrel, then the footmen, and lastly the gentlemen alighted, all except the ambassador ; two of the Conde's mules were killed, two of his servants wounded, and he himself forced to save himself by running, though in presence of his mistress. Upon the ambassador's complaint the King has ordered the Conde to be banished, till the ambassador intercedes for him.

TO MR. WARRE, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE.

Madrid, March 29. 1693.

SINCE the answer to my complaint for searching my coach, I have heard nothing further of that matter, neither I believe shall I, till they know from England how his Majesty does resent it. The influence it has here on all the public ministers is, that none of them, ambassadors nor envoys, have dared to stir out of the walls of the town since what befell my coach, and are like to continue in the same confinement, till they see what resolution will be taken as to my satisfaction.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, May 20. 1693.

I RECEIVED, the 15th instant, the welcome favour of your Lordship's of the 11th of April, wherein I find, with infinite joy, that his Majesty has graciously approved what I have done about the searching my coach, by his commanding me to continue to press for satisfaction of that affront. In obedience to which, I have writ another letter to the Marques de Mancera, and when they see with what authority it is backed, I doubt not but to have a speedy and satisfactory answer; for nothing can be more changeable than the designs and resolutions of this Court, of which I cannot forbear to give your Lordship an instance of what passed with the Venetian ambassador in his dispute with the Conde de Añover. I sent your Lordship formerly two papers about that matter: the first was the ambassador's letter to me, as to all the other ministers, acquainting me with the satisfaction the King had given him by confining the Conde; the other was sent me a week after by the Marques de Mancera, to disown all that satisfaction the ambassador had bragged of; and now, lately, upon the ambassador complaining of that proceeding, Don Juan de Angulo writ him another letter, of which I here send your Lordship a copy, which in effect retracts the former retractation, and declares *in terminis* that to have been *del agrado de su Magestad*, which

before the Marques writ to me was *de su desagrado*. Having before sent the two former, I thought this necessary to make a complete set.

I was last week with the Marques de Mancera, to give him several memorials of our merchants' affairs, and among the rest one complaining of the open and barefaced commerce Alicant and all the kingdoms of Valencia maintain with the French of Marseilles, which correspondence had, by advices given the French, occasioned the taking of many of our merchants' ships in those seas. He heard me discourse it with great patience, and told me he believed it all true; that the Council was all satisfied it was so, but that they could not tell how to remedy it, having often attempted it in vain; that the King has only the name of Aragon and the dominions that depend on it, but said he to me "he has no more power there than you have," and they will do what they list, whether the King be pleased or displeased. By this I gather there is small hope of any redress to that grievance.

His Catholic Majesty is now well, and abroad again, for joy of whose recovery the 18th instant was a masquerade on horseback by night with flambeaux, performed before the palace, wherein the Conde de Oñate and his son were *Padrinos*. Yesterday was a *Mogiganga*, which is an antic masquerade performed by the several companies of tradesmen of the villa of Madrid. Next month will be a *Fiesta de Toros* (a Bull-fight), and beyond

that they cannot go in their demonstrations for the greatest blessing God can give them.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, May 27. 1693.

I RECEIVED, yesterday, the honour of one from your Lordship, though of an old date, namely, the 28th of February, ordering me, by His Majesty's command, to endeavour to obtain an express order from the Catholic King to the Viceroy of Sicily, to revoke the prohibition he has made to all the English in that island to keep any fire-arms in their houses; and to give liberty to all His Majesty's subjects in Sicily, to keep such arms as may be necessary for the security of their houses and estates there. I will press it in the most effectual manner I can, though I fear it will be difficult, for, as I have this day informed myself, the prohibition is not general for all Sicily, but only at Messina, nor there particular to the English, but to all the inhabitants, whom the Spaniards do not think fit to trust with arms since their last revolt; nor is any nobleman in the place allowed to keep so much as a birding piece. However, I will use my best diligence.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, June 17. 1693.

WE had last night the news of the surrender of Rosas *, which capitulated the 12th instant; the Governor's arm being first shot off, and he incapacitated; his deputy judged the place not tenable, knowing three mines ready to spring, and expecting a general assault. They had honourable conditions granted them. The castle, they say, holds out still, but that could be only for a day or two longer. This Court is strangely alarmed, and the Council sit day and night. All the horses fit for service are taken up, of which there are 900 at the Retiro, and one of their ears cut off, which is the King's mark. The Counsellors of State have all taxed themselves a thousand pistoles a piece. The Grandees not Counsellors furnish each six horses mounted and equipped.

 TO MR. WARRE.

Madrid, June 24. 1693.

I ASKED the Marques of Mancera, what news from Catalonia; he said they had not heard a word from thence since the loss of Rosas, nor the particulars of that neither, only in general that it had capitulated. This I the rather believe, be-

* To the French army, from Roussillon.

cause I was informed not long before, by a domestic of the family, that the Council had writ to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, not to send so many expresses ; that they served only to disquiet and disturb the minds of the people. The expression was, *para alborotar al pueblo*.

On Sunday was se'nnight, between two and four in the morning, at Seville, were two great shakes of an earthquake, which frightened the people terribly, but did little damage.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, August 26. 1693.

I HAVE renewed my complaint to the Marques of Mancera about the old story of searching my coach upon a new occasion, which was, that three English gentlemen, lately come from Cadiz, one of them a son of Sir Arthur Ingram, borrowed my coach to go to see the Pardo, a hunting seat of the King, two leagues from hence. On their return, three of the guards stopped the coach, beginning with insolent language to the coachmen, as *Alto, cornudos, o yo os cortaro las piernas !* (Stop, or I will cut off your legs !) They were sufficiently told it was the English Envoy's coach. . . . But finding they were like to meet with a brisk resistance they went off, pretending they did not believe it was my coach ; although the livery is very well known now, and

besides that no liveries in town are laced, but only the Foreign Ministers. . . . The Marques de Mancera seemed much surprised to hear of it, and desired me to give it him in writing.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, September 9. 1693.

THIS Court affords no manner of news, unless it be that tertian and quartan agues are now as frequent here as in the most unhealthy parts of Kent or Essex.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, September 16. 1693.

THE Duke of Pastrana and Infantado, first Duke of Spain, died last week of a violent fever, with this extraordinary circumstance, that when ready to expire, he called to the by-standers, and bid them take notice he died not a *Maravedi* in debt to any person living, — which is the only instance of a Spanish Grandee in this age! *

* His son and suceessor was accordingly very wealthy. St. Simon says of him in 1719: “ Il était le plus rieh Scigneur “ d’Espagne, jouissant d’environ 2,000,000 de revenu, et s’amusant à l’occupation la plus triste, mais où il avait mis son “ *punto* ; ce fut de se bâtir une sépulture aux Capueins de Gua-

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, October 14. 1693.

HERE is a discourse of raising 36,000 men, but that I suppose will be done with great Spanish leisure, *poco a poco*.

TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Madrid, November 18. 1693.

THIS King has taken away, by a late decree, a third part of all wages and salaries of all officers and ministers without exception, and suspended for the ensuing year, 1694, all pensions for life granted either by himself or his father.

TO MR. WARRE.

Madrid, November 25. 1693.

FIVE French men-of-war, and a fire-ship, have, in the 15 days last past, appeared before Malaga, Gibraltar, and Cadiz. Three of them passed the Streight's mouth together, in sight of all the Spanish

“dalaxara, et de la faire exactement sur le modèle, et avec la même magnificence de la sépulture des Rois à l'Escorial, excepté que le *Panthéon* de Guadalaxara est beaucoup plus “petit.”—(Mém. vol. xix. p. 126. ed. 1829.)

armada, which would not see them. On the 14th instant, the armada went into port at Cadiz, which being our King's birthday, and the English ships there firing all their guns on that occasion, the Spanish admiral understood it as a salute to himself, and answered them with 15 guns.

TO MR. JAMES VERNON, UNDER SECRETARY
OF STATE.

Madrid, January 13. 1694.

THIS Court pretends to make some figure on their part also this summer. Five regiments are immediately to be raised in Estremadura, of which the *Maitres de camp*, and several other officers, are already declared, and they talk of other levies to be made in Andalusia and Castille. What they may do in the provinces I know not; but have seen in Madrid, that, in four months' time, they have not, with all their diligence, been able to get a thousand men, though they are beating the drums every day; for as fast as new ones come in, the former run away; and of them that at any time march out of town, I am assured that always about one half of them drop off before they reach Catalonia, and that by consent of their officers, having listed them only on those terms, to make a show in marching out of town. In short, nothing of good can be expected hence, either by land or sea. The Spanish

armada is never ready to go out till mid-August, and then cannot keep the sea above fifteen days, without going into some port to careen and refit.

I shall conclude with our weather here, which has been for twenty days past as cold as ever I felt in England, the King having been every day, with vast multitudes of people, to see sliding on skates, in the great ponds of the Retiro.

TO SIR JOHN TRENCHARD, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Madrid, March 13. 1694.

THE truth is, ever since setting up the cordon, we (the Foreign Ministers) have all in effect been prisoners within Madrid, and nobody must stir a league out of town, but must go provided and resolved to fight His Catholic Majesty's guards.

TO SIR JOHN TRENCHARD.

Madrid, March 16. 1694.

LAST week died here Don Juan de Angulo, Secretario del Despacho Universal, a very well meaning man, but not equal for such a charge, and plainly sunk under it. The day before yesterday, Don Alonso de Carnero took possession of the place: he was before Secretary of State of the

southern province, a very able minister, bred much abroad, and one of the civilest Spaniards I have met with.

TO ADMIRAL NEVILLE.

Madrid, April 27. 1694.

I AM not so sanguine as I find you are, in your opinion of the Spaniards' preparations as to their armada, for, by experience I have had of them, I cannot but believe the number will not only fall short, but those they can set out will require a much longer time to get ready ; in both which I hope I may be mistaken.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, May 6. 1694.

As to our preparations here, the noise is always greater than the reality : there are already marched from hence 1200 horse, and 6 more are to follow for Catalonia, and there is designed 10,000 foot.

We are here in daily expectation of a great change of all affairs in this Court, by the Duque de Montalto being declared *Valido* or Premier Minister, which is not yet done ; but if it be, the Junta of *Tenientes Generales* ceases that moment, and all

affairs, both military and civil, will entirely be ordered as he pleases. This country is at present in great fear of a famine for want of rain, which there has been none to wet the ground in four months, which makes the prices of all things rise most excessively. As an addition to this calamity, clouds of locusts have fallen in many places of Andalusia and Estremadura, and devoured all that was green on the ground.

TO THE MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.

Madrid, May 19. 1694.

THEY played me here a very scurvy trick last night in sending an express for England without giving me notice, which, for their own sakes, they ought to have done in so important a concern; and this leads me to the news which so much startles us all here, namely, that yesterday came an express from Cadiz, of the appearance of 50 or 60 French men-of-war off Cadiz, and because I should not have it in time, nor suspect their sending away a *Correo*, they kept a letter I had of the same advice from Cadiz, by the same express, till this day at noon! My letter is from Mr. Hodges, an eminent merchant there, and of the 15th instant, now but four days ago; it says that their fishermen came in and brought notice of 50 to 60 sail of French ships, gone by with a strong westerly wind for the

streights; the fishermen swore it before the Governor.

My wife went home a fortnight ago for England, where she will present my most humble duty to my Lady, and desire your Lordship to acquaint her from me, that I desire she will not let Lady Stanhope* go abroad in a coach, for I remember I heard Tom Killigrew once on such an occasion swear to King Charles the Second, that coaches in London streets destroyed him more subjects every year than ever he had lost in any Dutch fight!

TO LORD SIDNEY.

Madrid, May 30. 1694.

THE French and Spanish armies lie in sight of each other near Gerona; only a river between them. Though the French are much more numerous, yet the Spanish contemn them, and seem resolved to fight.† I fear they will suddenly be

* Lady Elizabeth Savile, daughter of the Marquis of Halifax, married in 1691 Lord Stanhope of Shelford, afterwards third Earl of Chesterfield. Their eldest son was the fourth and celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, born four months after the date of this letter, Sept. 1694.

† The result of this rashness on the part of the Spaniards was their total defeat, with great loss, at the battle of the Ter, May 27. 1694. See the official relation of the Duke de Noailles; *State of Europe*, 1694, p. 198., or the *Mém. de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 247. Mr. Stanhope's letters give no new particulars, and I omit those already known.

disabused by the success, though they are of the opinion in general that one Spaniard can beat three *Gavachos*.*

TO THE MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.

Madrid, May 31. 1694.

THE chief minister here, in effect, though not declared *Valido*, is the Duque de Montalto, with whom I can never hope to be well, though his quarrel is not to me but to the King my master, whom he refused when Prince of Orange to treat with "Highness," and gave him only "Excellency," though at the same visit the Governor of Flanders gave him Highness, and Montalto was only General of the horse; upon which the Prince desired the Governor that Duke might never more appear before him, as he never did, and in revenge he is, as I am assured, at this time a zealous promoter of a separate peace, and if things go ill this summer in Catalonia, as it is very probable they will, it is not impossible but by the present sway he has he may effect it.

TO SIR JOHN TRENCHARD.

Madrid, June 2. 1694.

WE had yesterday yet worse news of the loss of a battle near Gerona, some account of which

* A nickname for the French, in Spain; it was much used in the War of Independence.

you will see inclosed. . . . This day about noon came another letter, despatched by the Viceroy, confirming the ill success, laying the fault on the new-raised horse ; that the slaughter is greater than mentioned in the first advices ; and that the enemies are masters of the field, destroying and burning all the country. The Duke of Ossuna was nominated three days ago the Vice-General of all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to dispose all places into the best posture of defence, and was to have posted in three days more ; but being yesterday in the evening at the Council, came out not well, and died this morning at three o'clock.

TO MR. HOPKINS, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

Madrid, June 9. 1694.

THIS Court and all the people are very big with expectation of the sudden arrival of a squadron in these seas from the North, of 25 English and 15 Dutch men-of-war, to join with those at Cadiz, of which they pretend certain advices from their Ministers in England and Holland. I wish it may consist with our designs at home, as much as it would be convenient for the Spanish affairs here ; but hope if such a squadron do come, they will bring along with them all things they may possibly have occasion for, whatsoever happen, both provisions of war, ship-tackle and victuals, for if they

expect to find any of them here, they will be much mistaken, whatever their Ministers may say to the contrary, who in this exigency will not stick to promise largely.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE, SECRETARY AT WAR.

Madrid, June 10. 1694.

THERE has been lately a great tumult of the rabble against the French in Zaragoza, which the Viceroy, and the Archbishop with the sacrament, endeavoured in vain to pacify, till the Viceroy promised them to banish them all, and confiscate their estates; but they had first killed several persons, and plundered and burnt several houses.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, June 24. 1694.

I WENT to Don Alonso Carnero, and gave him the letter inclosed in yours from His Majesty to the King of Spain. So soon as he received it, he laid it on his head as the profoundest sign of veneration.* He styled His Majesty the greatest Prince in the world, *El Redemptor de Europa*.

* A custom still universal in the East: the Spaniards no doubt had it from the Moors.

TO ADMIRAL NEVILLE.

Madrid, June 29. 1694.

THE French sat down before Gerona the 21st instant, since which we hear little how they advance ; this Court telling the world no more than needs they must against themselves : but in probability it must be lost, unless St. Narcissus come again to defend it with a swarm of flies, as they say he did when it was last besieged, and made the French rise ; for since the defeat of their army they have no hopes, unless in such a miracle, which does not happen every day. If half our fleet come into those seas suddenly, as this Court expects, it may save Barcelona.

TO SIR JOHN TRENCHARD.

Madrid, July 7. 1694.

THIS Court is very melancholy upon the loss of Gerona, which they looked on as impregnable, having, as they say, baffled the French in twenty-three sieges. It was invested the 21st of June. In a day or two they took the fort of the Capuchins, next that of the Condestable which commands the town, and the 29th it capitulated, and was surrendered the 30th, upon very honourable terms for the besieged.

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, July 14. 1694.

I WRIT last week to Mr. Secretary, that the garrison of Gerona had made honourable capitulations, which was what then was given out, but since it appears that as never any place defended itself worse, so never any surrendered on more infamous capitulations, namely, to be all disarmed, most of their horses taken away from them, not to serve against the French in four months, and not to return the direct way, but obliged to make such a tour in their march, as to make it impossible for them to serve their country again sooner. All the world cries out against them ; and it is confidently affirmed, that two regiments of Germans, and one of Spaniards almost entire, have since taken service with the French. These disasters coming so thick, and no visible remedy appearing, had raised a very high ferment in the minds of the people here, which expressed itself in great insolencies to the great men, as they passed the streets, and to one of the greatest, even in the King's palace ; and the Royal authority itself began to lose its veneration, several scandalous pasquins being fixed in several public places, magnifying the great King of France, and with very little respect to His Catholic Majesty by name, insomuch, that had not Mr. Russell appeared with his squadron as he did, it is generally believed some more public scandals would

have followed. But all that fear is now over, and joy appears in all countenances.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, September 9. 1694.

ADMIRAL RUSSELL met such ill weather, and continual contrary winds on his passage, that he could not get to Barcelona before the 8th of August, when upon several conferences with the Marques de Villena, the Viceroy, he found the Spanish army not in a condition to attempt any thing suddenly, to which he with his fleet might give any countenance; and that the French fleet was not only retired to Toulon, but had there strongly fortified themselves, which, together with the advanced season of the year, made him not think it convenient to stay longer with his great ships; so the 26th August he sailed from thence to return for the north, since which we have heard nothing of him. Great endeavours have been used by the Court to stop him, and that the fleet may winter in these seas; and I am almost of opinion they will still prevail, for I have received lately several paquets in a very short time for the Admiral, both from England and the King in Flanders, and despatched them to meet him as he directed me. I have some reasons to believe they carry him orders to stay, though I am not certain.

This I know, the Court here look on it as certain : a few days will clear the doubt.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, September 23. 1694.

THE raising the siege of Ostalric, upon a panic terror of the approach of the French, was as scandalous as all the rest of the actions of this campaign. They had taken the town, the castle to capitulate. The Governor offering to surrender upon honourable terms, the Spaniards refused to give them any other conditions than what the French had given their garrison at Gerona : which the Governor not admitting, prepared again for his defence. In the mean time, reports being spread (whether true or false, I cannot tell) that the French were coming to relieve it, all on a sudden they abandoned the siege, and marched off. The French had better success in their siege at Castel Follet, which they have taken.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Madrid, October 8. 1694.

THE Marques of Mancera, my *Commissary*, is 80 years old, sick, doating, and a passionate friend to Canales.* The Secretary of the North, Don

* I am surprised to find this unfavourable character of the Marques de Mancera ; other authorities represent him as a most able and most upright statesman ; and in the instructions

Crispin Botello, is as old, peevish, oppressed by business, and so either forgetful or malicious, that I know he has kept my memorials of national concerns three months by him, without presenting them to the Council, which it is his duty to do immediately. I have no remedy.

This country is in a most miserable condition ; no head to govern, and every man in office does what he pleases, without fear of being called to account. They are trying all manner of ways to raise money, in which the present Presidente de Hacienda is thought a great master, yet all the funds are already anticipated for so many years, that he can find nobody will advance, and there are no galleons nor flota to be expected in a long time. Affairs in Catalonia can hardly be worse : since the last vain attempt on Ostalric, their army is dwindled above one half, and cannot make together, horse and foot, above 4,000 men fit for service ; so that, though our fleet may secure Barcelona and the coasts, yet all the inland country must be at the discretion of the French. Admiral Russell has been very ill ten days at Alicant.

drawn up by the Duke de Beauvilliers for Philip the Fifth, we may observe that he is held up as the model for future Viceroy's to be appointed in America. He was still surviving in 1710 when the English army entered Madrid ; and in spite of anxious and repeated solicitations on their part, steadily maintained his allegiance to King Philip. — The Marques de Canales was the Spanish Envoy in England, but no friend to that country ; in 1704 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, through the influence of Princess Orsini. (St. Simon, Mem. vol. iv. p. 73.)

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, October 21. 1694.

THE Marques de Gastanaga had two days ago his despatches as Captain-General of Catalonia, upon the resignation of the Duke de Escalona, and is, according to his temper, preparing a splendid equipage, having most of the tailors now in town at work. We have been much alarmed these five last days with expresses from Catalonia of the French designing to besiege Barcelona by sea and land, some ships having appeared off at a distance ; but it now appears only to have been the people's fear, and that there is no such thing : it were a very bold attempt in this season, and our fleet so ready at hand.

TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

Madrid, October 26. 1694.

I LOOK on myself as fixed here for some time, and, for aught I know, as long as this Government may continue, which seems to me so absolutely at the discretion of the French, that whenever they shall please to send a body of horse to Madrid, there is nothing either by the way, or here, that can make the least opposition.

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, December 12. 1694.

THE Spaniards rely altogether upon their allies to defend them, while they are pursuing, with great heats and animosities, their little Court factions. There is at present a very strong one against the Queen, who they cannot bear to see after so many years' mortification that she has got some credit with the King, and their present great design is to remove from her Madame Berlips, a German lady, her favourite. This lady's son, Baron Berlips, lately made his entry here as Envoy from the King of Poland, and as he went to his audience with the Conductor of Ambassadors in the King's coach, a company of ruffians came to the coach side, giving him and his mother very ill names, one of them saying, "Let us kill the dog!" Another replied, "Not now, for he is in the King's coach; we will "take a more convenient opportunity." Nothing is so much talked of at present as ousting that family, and then they think their Monarchy safe!

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, December 16. 1694.

WE have frequent Juntas and Councils, wherein are great variety of projects for raising money, but nothing yet resolved. Factions run very high, and

whatever is proposed by one party, is for that very reason disliked and rejected by the other. The assembling of the Cortes, or States of the kingdom, has been proposed by some in the Council of Castille as the only remedy to save the monarchy. It was not much regarded, nor, I believe, like suddenly to take effect, although the proposal was very bold, and gives people occasion of thinking. It may prove a remedy whenever it is applied, but will probably be a very rough one, and so like to be deferred till the last extremity.

The poor French gentleman at Barcelona was very fortunate in getting so soon out of the Inquisition, for I have since interceded, by our Queen's command, and in her Majesty's name, for the liberty of four others, of the same nation, in the Inquisition at Bilbao, and have had a flat denial, this King answering me that he never intermeddles in any proceedings relating to matters of religion, though against his own domestics.

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, January 12. 1695.

THIS Court is most miserably distracted with factions, who mind nothing but the ruining each other. Honest Don Alonso Carnero was put out of his office Friday night last, after having been two hours despatching papers with the King, according

to custom, who expressed not the least sign of displeasure against him, but gave him a paper sealed for the President of Castille, which was an order that he should discharge him from the Despacho Universal. The causes of this sudden change are so variously discoursed, I can give you nothing of certainty, only it is agreed he was of the young Queen's party, and when any thing was designed against her Germans, he gave her notice, which so offended the Queen Mother and the Cardinal *, that they publicly gave out they would retire to Toledo, and in appearance were preparing to be gone, when the King, to gratify and quiet them, sacrificed to them his faithful servant.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, January 27. 1695.

MY last letters from Barcelona tell me their new Viceroy has granted liberty of a free trade with France, under the pretence of receiving better intelligence from thence. What the Court means to do with that country I cannot imagine, for they have not as yet begun the least preparations for the defence of it. Here have been several changes lately. The Almirante (or Admiral) of Castille is made Calvarizo Mayor (Master of the Horse) to the King; Don Alonso Carnero, a gentleman of great honour and a very able minister, put out of the Secre-

* Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo.

taria of the Despacho Universal by a Court cabal ; and the Duke of Montalto has exchanged his Presidency of the Council of the Indies for that of Aragon. These changes are talked of as great matters here, but what they signify to the public I know not.

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, February 15. 1695.

THE ways here have been so impassable that we have had no post from Catalonia in four weeks, which alarmed the Court so much by a like example they had had in Portugal when that kingdom revolted, that fearing the like of Catalonia, they sent orders to meet the *ordinary*, and found he was stopped by a river he could not pass, twenty-four leagues distant from hence. Don Juan de Larrea told me upon this occasion, that their post mules, which bring the letters, come as heavily laden as any carriers! *

* It is remarkable, that in Mr. A. Stanhope's MS. work on the causes of the decay of the Spanish monarchy, I find as one cause assigned the unfavourable position of Madrid. "This
" being a place almost inaccessible to all land carriage but
" mules, there could be no commerce, nor scarce any conveniency
" of life but at vast charges." Mr. Stanhope was told by one of the Spanish ministers, that after the conquest of Portugal it had been in deliberation before the Council to remove the seat of empire either to Lisbon or to Barcelona, "but the Grandees
" of Castille would not hear of residing so far from their estates
" and vassals."

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, February 16. 1695.

THE greatest news we have here is what has passed lately concerning the Conde de Oropesa, who, if he returns to Court, will certainly be chief at the helm as formerly. The King lately sent for him to exercise his charge of President of the Council of Italy, who, in obedience to that command, being come as far as a place called Nava al Carnero, within six leagues of Madrid, met there another order to return back to his house. This latter order is said to be procured from the young Queen, who looks not on him as her friend, and would not have him first minister. Yet the general opinion is he will ere long return, and be *Valido*.

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, February 22. 1695.

I CAN inform you little more of the affairs of this Court than by my last, only that it is agreed on all hands that the young Queen carries all before her, since his Majesty's Confessor has told him he is obliged in conscience to do whatsoever she will have him, which he proves thus: upon the satisfaction of her mind depends the good disposition of her body; upon that the hope of suc-

cession ; upon that the happiness of the monarchy, which his Majesty is obliged in conscience to do all things to procure !

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, March 24. 1695.

OUR Catalan peasants have lately done an action, beyond any thing I have known done by their disciplined troops. They got together about 4000 men, and fell upon the Governor of Castel Follet, who marched with 900 men to raise contribution, beat them in the open field, till they retired to a church, where, being like to be burnt, they surrendered at discretion ; 200 men were killed and wounded, and 600 prisoners, among whom is the Governor of Castel Follet, who is also much wounded.

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, April 13. 1695.

THREE days ago the horse guards of the Cordon here, which have held Madrid besieged for two years, and given me and every body else so much trouble, being at last found very prejudicial to the King's revenue, as well as a public nuisance, were discharged that service, and ordered immediately

to march away to Ceuta, so that now we have only the ordinary guards at the gates, and are at liberty to take the air in the fields, which we could not do before.

After almost a year's solicitation for a new Commissary, His Catholic Majesty was pleased last week to assign me the Marques de Los Balbases. He is very old and decrepit, and lately turned priest. However I have the satisfaction that it is impossible he can be more insignificant than the Marques de Mancera was to me before.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, May 5. 1695.

THE Catalans get on still successfully, having lately obliged the French to abandon St. Feliu, after having killed and taken 200 men of that garrison they met abroad in two several parties. We have now above 1500 French prisoners taken in three or four late fortunate encounters. This Court is now very busy about ways of raising money, sending to borrow considerable sums of all persons they think rich and easy in their affairs, as also exposing to sale Viceroyships and governments in the Indies; one gentleman, Don Diego de Cordova, Marques del Vado, having offered 200,000 pieces of eight for that of Peru, which, it is believed, will be accepted.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, May 25. 1695.

I AM glad, dear James, to see by your letter of the 23d of April you believe your mother better, and much approve the resolution of her removing into the country : she will be there better pleased, according to her humour, which always inclined her more to solitude and retirement, than the noise and hurry of the great world ; besides that, I know she has a particular good opinion of Dr. Dimsdale.*

The sudden loss of our generous friend, my good Lord Halifax, is a great blow to us all, but particularly to you in this critical conjuncture, when you had so fair hopes by his favour. I fear you may find more coldness now from some persons who promised you great things formerly upon his account, yet however I hope you continue to try them, and push your pretensions with them as far as they will go. Old Bishop Ward, of Salisbury, was a wise man, and used to say he had found more advantage by one end of a verse of Ovid, *Quid enim tentasse nocebit ?* than by all the rest of his learning, Latin and Greek, put together. What the young Lord Halifax's temper is, I know little or nothing, but intend to write to him next post, and doubt not of your compliance with all the de-

* Mrs. Stanhope had lately arrived from Madrid, in precarious health, and went to reside at Hertford during several months, for the benefit of the air, and the advice of Dr. Dimsdale, an eminent physician at that place.

voirs of decency and respect to his Lordship and all the family on this occasion.

TO LORD LEXINGTON, ENGLISH MINISTER AT VIENNA.

Madrid, June 9. 1695.

ALL these late successes in Catalonia are owing to the different method of the Marques de Gastanaga from their former Viceroys, who were always jealous of the natives, and would never trust them to defend themselves ; whereas he permits the use of arms to all, encourages and trusts them equally with the Castillians, having indeed no other game to play, considering the deplorable condition he found the country in, and it has succeeded beyond expectation.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, June 23. 1695.

I AM much pleased, my dear son, to see by yours of the 1st instant, from Ghent, you had had a good passage, and were got safe so far. I beseech Almighty God to bless and preserve you in all the dangers you are like to encounter : since it has pleased him to take away your poor brother *, you are now all the comfort I have left. You must have

* Alexander Stanhope, Lieut. R. N.

heard it before this from England. He died the 14th of May, five days after the fleet sailed from Cadiz, of a violent fever. I have had condolences from the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Captain Foulkes, and all the factories in the Mediterranean, with the greatest commendations I have ever heard of any young man, except yourself: and indeed, by the late knowledge I had of him the little time he was with me, I believe he deserved them all; he had all the principles of justice and true honour in his nature, and what is more extraordinary in his education, a great sense of religion and piety. I remember in a discourse we had of that nature, he told me he had heard you say your friend Duke Schomberg was extremely religious and devout, which I was mightily pleased to hear, as hoping you imitate him in that most excellent of all virtues, as well as you have done in a great many others: and certainly to be always prepared to die, is of more absolute necessity in your profession than in any other state of life, since you are hourly exposed, and have it continually before your eyes. This I know is no proper subject for a letter, but the tender affection of a father may excuse it, who desires your happiness equally with his own.

I remove to-morrow to a new house, within three doors of that where you left me, having always been sickly where I now am, though it be the pleasantest house and garden I ever saw; but all gardens, by reason of the much water necessary to them, are unwholesome in this country. Therefore

all the great men have their dwelling houses without them, but have them at a distance, with a little summer house, whither they go sometimes only for recreation.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, July 14. 1695.

THE desertions have been so great in the French army (in Catalonia), that our Consul of Barcelona writes me he had picked up a hundred Switzers, all lusty fellows, and sent them to you. If any offices of mine might facilitate the getting more, I would very industriously employ them; but there will be no obstacle from this Court, for though they esteem the Switzers good men, yet they do not covet them in Spain, where, upon often trials, they have made ill proof, killing themselves with surfeiting and drunkenness.

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, September 10. 1695.

ALL we have here is the greatest resentment against the Prince of Darmstadt for leaving the siege of Palamos with his troops, insomuch that a

Privy Counsellor said in Council, the Marques de Gastanaga was only to blame for not taking off his head.*

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, September 27. 1695.

SUNDAY last was sevensnight, the Conductor of Ambassadors was sent with a message from the King to M. Schonenberg†, to leave Madrid in six days, and that they will receive no more papers from or treat with him; the motive, as the Marques de Los Balbases tells me, being some disrespectful offices of his in a late memorial, and having done ill offices relating to the Dutch ships in the fleet.

* According to Admiral Russell, the fault was rather in the troops than in the general. He writes to the Duke of Shrewsbury from Palamos, August 26. 1695: —“The Spanish army are now on their march to Ostalric, and, by what I have observed already, they will march farther in two days from the enemy than they did in six towards them. God send them well thither, for nothing but a high mountain, or an unfordable river, is security sufficient for such miserable creatures, with officers at the head of them who are no soldiers.” (See the Shrewsbury Correspondence.) But some allowance is to be made for Admiral Russell’s exaggerations. Mr. Hallam truly observes of him, “This was a most odious man, as ill-tempered and violent as he was perfidious.” (Const. Hist. vol. iii. p. 185.)

† Envoy from the States of Holland and of King William as Stadtholder.

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, October 4. 1695.

M. SCHONENBERG was yesterday forcibly carried out of town by two Alcaldes de Corte, with a numerous attendance of alguazils. It looks very oddly a minister of our King should be forced out of this Court in such a manner, at the same time the memory of Namur is so fresh. Mons. Schonenberg is at Rosas, three leagues off, where he continues till he receives our King's orders.

TO ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Madrid, October 11. 1695.

I SHOULD now repeat my regret for your leaving us, did I not know it were so much to your own satisfaction, and indeed I must think you have a great deal of reason to desire to leave a place where you have deserved so well, and been used so ill.

Although news from this Court must be grown now indifferent to you, yet if you are concerned for any thing here, it must be for your fair passenger *, whose friends and partisans are like now to be much more vigorously attacked than they were last winter. You have heard how much the great

* The Queen.

men here are generally offended with the Prince of Hesse for what he did at Palamos, and the powerful support he has against them. It happened that about ten days ago the Aragon or Catalonia post, which is the same, going out with his mail between one and two in the morning, was, before he got out of town, stopped by four men masked, who only took away the King's paquets, throwing all the rest upon the ground, and so left him. To discover the actors (after all other diligences in vain) yesterday was published a proclamation. I need speak no plainer. It is a business like to have very violent consequences.

TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Madrid, October 26. 1695.

I FEAR your new Parliament will meet late this winter, His Majesty having been detained so long by the slow German Princes at the Hague; but as to the great stickling between High and Low Church in the elections, I hope they will agree together so far as effectually to secure us against Popery, and then it will be the less matter which ever gets the better.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, November 3. 1695.

THIS Court continues in its usual tranquillity, or rather I may call it insensibility, the greatest expectation that amuses them being to know how our King resents their so scandalous behaviour to his minister, M. Schonenberg.

TO ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

Madrid, December 6. 1695.

I HAVE demanded that our sick men be received, and furnished with all necessaries, in the marine hospital at Cadiz, to which they have yet vouchsafed me no answer, neither do I expect it, being informed that orders have been sent down hence to the contrary, solicited by the zeal of our Cardinal here, who represented that heretic dogs ought not to partake of His Catholic Majesty's charity equally with good Catholics, nor to be intermixed amongst them. This I believe will not be very well taken in England, since, besides the barbarity of it in itself, it is contrary to the thirteenth article of the treaty at the Hague, in the year 1692, which, though it was then only stipulated for sixteen men-of-war, yet *à fortiori* ought to engage them much more now, when we give them a succour so much more considerable.

TO LORD LEXINGTON, AT VIENNA.

Madrid, January 5. 1696.

YOUR Lordship must have been informed from England how, in consequence of the refusal of this Court to readmit M. Schonenberg, Sir Charles Cotterell was sent to forbid the Spanish Ambassador the Court and King's presence, and told that no memorials should be received from him till his Majesty had that satisfaction from this Court : upon notice of which, on Saturday last, being the last day of the old year, the Conductor of Ambassadors here was sent to me with the very same message, only changing of names, viz., that till His Catholic Majesty had satisfaction from the Court of England for what was done to the Marques de Canales, his Ambassador at London, he would receive no *offices* from me ; and further ordered me to forbear going to Court, or appearing in his Majesty's presence ; to which I answered, I should readily obey, and give an account thereof to the King, my master, as I did the same night by express. What will be the issue, I am not able to judge, till I have his Majesty's further orders, which, if they be as I expect for my return, I shall most willingly obey, after a full six years' absence from dear England, and in a country not the most pleasant to a stranger, only I should be glad, lest the common cause should suffer by the difference,

that some expedient of accommodation may be found out.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, January 12. 1696.

THE Marques de Gastanaga caused lately to be apprehended a French spy, and sent him with a guard to prison to Barcelona, where immediately the Inquisitor sends an officer to the prison to demand him. The jailor answered, he was answerable to the Viceroy for his prisoner; upon which, the Inquisitor immediately excommunicated the jailor, refused to admit any message from the Viceroy about him, slighting also the Bishop's applications. This raised a great tumult in the city, which was increased by advice that came about the same time, that the Justice of a village not far off, having ordered a soldier to be quartered in a widow's house, whose husband, many years before, had been a familiar of the Inquisition, she pleaded the privilege, complaining to the Inquisitor, who, to punish this violation of the pretended right of the Holy Office, excommunicated the whole village; which insolence, together with the other, was like to put the whole country in an uproar, and obliged the Viceroy and Bishop to despatch an express hither, with an account of these two cases, and that if a remedy were not speedily applied, the people

would burn the Inquisitors, and pull down their houses : and this Court has thought it a matter of that consequence, that they have banished the chief Inquisitor of Barcelona out of all His Catholic Majesty's dominions. This is a punishment for what has passed ; and to prevent the like disorders hereafter, there is a Junta of ten persons appointed, namely, two of the Council of State, two of Castille, two of Aragon, two of Italy, and two of the Indies, to regulate and reduce within more moderate bounds the exorbitant power exercised by that Office. This raises great expectations at present, but, like all other things in this country that pretend to reformation, will probably have no effect, and be laid aside in a few months.

TO ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

Madrid, February 14. 1696.

ORDERS are given and a fund settled for the setting out to sea the Spanish armada with all possible Spanish expedition ; they say there will be nine ships ; what they are you must know better than I. The Conde Fernan Nuñez is to command them, whom I fear you will find a punctilious, capricious, troublesome gentleman. He has not scrupled to say before some of our merchants here, that when he came to Cadiz he would make you know him ; with which I thought necessary to acquaint you, that

by this character of the man you might the better know how to treat with him. For my part, I look on a Spanish armada to be such a set, that whether at sea or in port is equally indifferent to us.

TO MR. FRANCIS GODOLPHIN.

Madrid, April 4. 1696.

OF late your uncle* has been sometimes better, sometimes worse, but is now drawing very near his end, if I may believe the relations of others who see him daily. I cannot hear he has during all his illness made the least mention of you or his family. The disposition he has made is this: — first, he has made his soul his heir, a thing common with devout people here, by which pretence the church will lay claim to all his estate after legacies paid, to be employed in masses for his soul, of which he has already ordered 6000 to be said !

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, April 19. 1696.

THE Marques of Gastanaga cannot long continue in the government of Catalonia, having been

* Sir William Godolphin. He had been appointed British Minister to Spain in 1667; he afterwards embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and continued to reside at Madrid till his death, July 7. 1696.

of late much disordered in his head, fancying himself a Cardinal, and ordering his servants to pack up all things presently, to be gone to Rome, whither the Pope had sent for him in all haste. This the Court knows, with several other extravagances, and though since he has appeared in public with Spanish gravity, yet whether they will think him fit much longer for that trust, time must tell us.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, May 3. 1696.

THE Marques of Gastanaga is dismissed from his government of Catalonia, and I am just now told that Don Francisco de Velasco, Governor of Cadiz, is actually declared, which seems a strange choice, for though he may be a very worthy gentleman, yet he has seen as little of war as I have done.

The Queen Mother continues very ill with her cancer, has put off all her physicians and surgeons, and delivered herself up to a seventh son, a holy man of the strictest celibacy, who by certain charms of prayers he uses is said to have done wonderful cures. The Holy Office has approved him, which gives Her Majesty great confidence in him.*

* Madame d'Aulnoy gives an account of such another holy man coming to Madrid, in 1679. " Il est arrivé ici un homme " que l'on est allé chercher jusqu'au fond de la Galice ; c'est un

TO MR. JAMES VERNON.

Madrid, May 8. 1696.

No people know better how to deal with the Spaniards than their own neighbours the Portuguese, who having pretension to a little island at the mouth of the river Minio, which divides Portugal from Gallicia, and not being vouchsafed an

“ Saint qui, à ce qu’on prétend, fait des miracles. La Marquise
“ de Los Velez, autrefois Gouvernante du Roi, a pensé mourir,
“ et elle l’envoya querir promptement, mais l’on a été si long-
“ temps à faire ce voyage qu’elle a recouvré sa santé sans lui.
“ L’on savait le jour qu’il devait arriver et elle l’attendait, lorsque
“ Don Fernand de Toledé, qui est son neveu, et qui n’avait pu
“ la voir depuis son retour de Flandres, à cause de la maladie
“ qu’elle avait eue, sachant qu’elle était beaucoup mieux, se
“ rendit chez elle à l’heure à peu près que le Saint de la Galice
“ y devait venir. Les gens de la Marquise le voyant, et ne le
“ connaissant point, car il était absent depuis plusieurs années,
“ crurent dès qu’il parut que c’était le Saint; ils ouvrirent la
“ grande porte, sonnèrent une cloche pour servir de signal,
“ comme la Marquise le leur avait ordonné: toutes les Dueñas
“ et les filles vinrent le recevoir avec chacune un cierge à la
“ main; il y en avait plusieurs qui se jetaient à genoux, et qui
“ ne voulaient pas le laisser passer qu’il ne leur eut donné sa
“ bénédiction. Il pensa devenir fou d’une telle réception; il
“ ne savait s’il était enchanté ou s’il dormait; et quoiqu’il put
“ s’imaginer il n’était point au fait; il avait beau parler, on ne
“ l’écoutait pas, tant le bruit et la presse étaient grandes; on
“ lui faisait toucher des chapelets, et celles qui étaient éloignées
“ les lui jetaient à la tête avec des centaines de médailles. Les
“ plus zélées commencèrent à lui couper son manteau et son
“ habit. Ce fut alors qu’il eut la peur entière, que pour multi-
“ plier ses reliques on ne le taillât par morceaux!” (Voyage
d’Espagne, vol. iii. p. 225. ed. 1699.)

answer in several years to their minister's memorials in that Court, about ten days ago went with 300 men, and took possession of it by strong hand.

TO MR. JAMES VERNON.

Madrid, May 23. 1696.

THE Queen Mother died this day sevensnight. There is now great noise of a miracle, done by a piece of a waistcoat she died in, on an old lame nun, who in great faith earnestly desired it, and no sooner applied it to her lips, but she was perfectly well, and immediately threw away her crutches. This, with some other stories, which will not be wanting, may in time grow up to a canonization.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, May 31. 1696.

DON FRANCISCO DE VELASCO has, on a third command, accepted the government of Catalonia, and is daily expected here in order to his passage thither; but whether it be he or any other, the case will be the same, as to any direction of the Spanish army in that province, who, so long as they may be quiet, will never think of offending their enemies, however ready they are on all occasions to disoblige their friends.

TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Madrid, June 20. 1696.

DON FRANCISCO DE VELASCO is come from Cadiz, in order to go to his government of Catalonia ; but refuses to stir till he have six months' pay for the army there settled upon good funds, a thing not to be done, and so the matter hangs. The government of Cadiz is sold to Don Francisco Miguel del Puego for 20,000 pistoles, part of which, I suppose, our merchants are to reimburse in time.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 19. 1696.

SIR WILLIAM GODOLPHIN died here the 7th instant, was attended next night to his funeral by the *Consejo de Estado* in a body, and most of the foreign Ministers ; such honour is done here to converts. He has left near 18,000*l.* to his friends in England, of which twelve to his nephew now here, and among his children, and five to Mr. Charles Godolphin, my Lord's brother, and this gentleman's sister, his wife ; 5000*l.* found in money in the house was in two days distributed among his servants by the *Testamentarios*, according to his appointment. There appears about 5000*l.* more, which how to be disposed of is yet in the breast of his will-makers, for so I may call them, since they have power to declare it

upon their faith, as he directed them by word of mouth in his life-time. Mr. Godolphin is now in my house ; what by long watching with his uncle, the agitations of mind between hopes and fears, his jealousies of every body that came near his uncle's bed, and the extreme heat of the season, so much disordered in his head, that, not knowing what to do with him, I have sent to his lady, that she will please to come over herself, or send some proper person to take care of him. In the mean time, he wants no help this place affords. This is all the legacy Sir William has left me, after two and forty years' acquaintance ; but it is no wonder, since our principles were so different both in Church and State.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, August 30. 1696.

MR. GODOLPHIN is still with me, much better, yet far from well ; now only *insanus quoad hoc*, his concerns with his uncle's *Testamentarios*, which is more troublesome to me than when he was furious, for then my servants managed him as the case required, and now I am obliged to treat him with ceremony. I hope to be relieved in a fortnight by some person from his friends in England to carry him home.

TO LORD LEXINGTON.

Madrid, September 16. 1696.

HIS Catholic Majesty has been extreme ill these seven days, which has stopped all couriers and expresses; but, thanks be to God, is now much better by taking the quinquine, yet not so safe as his good subjects wish him.

TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Madrid, September 19. 1696.

THE King's danger is over for this time, but his constitution is so very weak, and broken much beyond his age*, that it is generally feared what may be the success of such another attack. They cut his hair off in this sickness, which the decay of nature had almost done before, all his crown being bald. He has a ravenous stomach, and swallows all he eats whole, for his nether jaw stands so much out, that his two rows of teeth cannot meet; to compensate which, he has a prodigious wide throat, so that a gizzard or liver of a hen passes down whole, and his weak stomach not being able to digest it, he voids in the same manner. This King's life being of such importance in this conjuncture as to all the affairs of Europe, I thought might excuse these particulars, which otherwise would seem impertinent.

* He was then only thirty-five years old.

TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Madrid, September 20. 1696.

ON the 14th instant the King solemnly made his will, much in the same substance as his father's, Philip the Fourth, as to the succession to the Crown, which will be construed in favour of the young Prince of Bavaria. That morning the Conde de Oropesa surprised all this Court by appearing on a sudden in his riding habit at the bedchamber door, where he was soon admitted to kiss the King's hand, with great expressions of favour, and appointed one of the Governors of the kingdom in case of an interregnum, together with the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, &c. This Conde's coming in this manner, and being so received after five years' banishment, will make great changes at Court.

TO MR. JAMES VERNON.

Madrid, October 31. 1696.

THE person from whom I received the inclosed paper, Don Francisco de Castillo, Marques of Villadarias, Governor and Captain General of Guipuzcoa, is a gentleman much esteemed and honoured by the King our master for his behaviour in Flanders, and very forward to oblige all our nation within his jurisdiction.*

* This is the same General who so bravely defended Charleroy against the French, and Ceuta against the Moors, Andalusia

TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Madrid, November 14. 1696

THE Grandees and Foreign Ministers were admitted into the King's bed-chamber on his birthday, his Majesty being in bed. The ceremony passed in a low bow, without a word on either side, which is represented to the people as if he were so well as to receive their compliments as usually. To the same purpose, they sometimes make him rise out of his bed, much against his will, and beyond his strength, the better to conceal his illness abroad. He is not only extreme weak in body, but has a great weight of melancholy and discontent upon his spirits, attributed in a great measure to the Queen's continual importunities to make him alter his will.

TO MR. CHARLES GODOLPHIN.

Madrid, November 26. 1696.

THE *Testamentarios* say, that they are obliged to bestow all the overplus of Sir William's estate, after the legacies particularly specified were sa-

against the English. This noble Spaniard had a true chivalrous spirit. Once, it is said, in a night attack, finding an enemy's officer unprepared, and off his guard, yet unwilling to surrender, he offered him a sword to defend himself in single combat.

tisfied, in pious and charitable works, for the benefit of his soul. . . . I hear great outcries in town against the Testamentarios for making large distributions to their own relations, and it is thought the Vicario General of Madrid, as the proper Judge, will take cognizance of the matter, but what benefit you can draw thence I cannot see, since the Vicario will only dispose the money to some other use more pious in his opinion.

TO MR. CHARLES GODOLPHIN.

Madrid, December 26. 1696.

MR. ARTHUR has assured me from the Testamentarios (of Sir William Godolphin), that they would not give any of you a *real* more than what you knew from the beginning. . . . As an instance whereby to judge what you may expect by fair means, my agent upbraided it to one of them, Don Antonio Condoga, as a pitiful meanness in them that they would not give a charity to Mrs. Eliot, Sir William's aunt, who sent them a most humble petition from Falmouth, attested by all the magistrates of the place that she was such a person. Condoga answered she was no Catholic; therefore it could be no charity!

TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

Madrid, January 9. 1697.

THIS conjuncture has awakened several pretenders to the succession, namely, the Emperor, France, and Bavaria, whose ministers and agents here have omitted no possible practices for their several masters. The different titles to Castille and Aragon, with their respective dependencies, may also bring on the stage some unthought-of candidates, there being some families descended from the old races of those Kings still remaining, particularly the Duke de Medina Celi, the present Viceroy of Naples; but he is an unactive bigot, and incapable of entertaining such a thought, much more of succeeding in the attempt. The Marques de Leganez, Governor of Milan, is a brave gentleman, of courage and experience in war, sufficient to qualify him for a Duke of Milan; but the great moderation of his temper will not, I believe, allow of so much ambition. They sent last year, very unsuitably to their old cautious politics, the Conde de Montezuma Viceroy to Mexico. He married to his first wife a descendant from the great Montezuma, by whom he has two daughters. This seems an adventure these people would not have made in former ages, and were he a man of spirit they might repent it; but having been bred of the long robe, without the least knowledge in arms, or spirit of generosity in his nature, they think themselves very secure on

that side. Whenever the occasion happens, it is more than probable the succession will not go all one way, but this mighty body be divided ; and that several of the parts, under another form, may come to be more considerable than now the whole is.

TO MR. JAMES VERNON, APPOINTED SECRETARY
OF STATE.

January 22. 1697.

THE present design is for a voluntary contribution, in order to which circular letters have been despatched to all the *Grandes* and *Titulos*, to desire their benevolence to relieve the present exigencies of the Monarchy. I do not hear any particular sum is demanded, but every man is left to the largeness of his own mind, or love to his country. It is expected afterwards that the same will be attempted with all degrees and conditions throughout the kingdom, which by the example the *Grande*s will give the rest, is not like to come to any great matter.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, March 6. 1697

THE Conductor of Ambassadors gave me a visit two days ago, a favour I had not received in above

fourteen months, since he forbid me going to Court. He said he was neither bid nor forbid to come, but having a general order to acquaint all Foreign Ministers the King gave them leave to hunt in a wood four leagues distant, he thought it concerned me as well as the rest, since he did not find I was excepted. I must not omit the limitations of this favour, because some time or other they may be applicable to the Spanish Ministers in England, namely, only to my own person, without other company, and that I took neither dogs nor ferrets with me to destroy the game: — I answered him, as once before about three years ago, when he came to forbid me shooting, as he did to all others, that I hunted only the game in the market, where if it were not wanting I should be satisfied; that, however, I highly esteemed any mark of his Catholic Majesty's favour; but that, whenever I recurred to it, it should be for something more considerable than three or four conies. At parting he gave me leave to return his visit, which he would not admit of before when he came to forbid me the Court.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, April 3. 1697.

THE two Viceroy's of Mexico and Peru have had the change put on them in a pleasant manner. The Conde de Montezuma had passed a great sum of

money for Mexico, and the Conde de Cañete not less for Peru. In this confidence they both went to Mexico first, and were there to receive their last instructions at the opening a letter directed to the Bishop, who was Governor *ad interim*. When the letter was opened and read in the Council, they found that Montezuma was ordered by the King to pass to Peru, and Cañete to remain Vice-roy of Mexico. This seems to have been done upon a second thought that the name of Montezuma might still be dangerous among the Mexicans, especially being borne by a person who married a descendant of that great King, and has by her two daughters.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, April 10. 1769.

THE King is to go to Aranjuez on the 24th by advice of his Doctor, which I much wonder at, for it is, though a very pleasant seat, yet ill air and very agueish, insomuch that I have observed all the people that live there look like brown paper. But it is a place the Queen delights in above all others, and every thing must be as she would have it.

Her Confessor, a Capuchin, is now the most considerable person at Court, and takes great state on him, being consulted by all who have any pretensions. This morning, about nine, I saw Don Juan de Larrea coming out from his lodging in the

Convent, whither he had gone early on foot, I suppose for greater privacy.

TO LORD CHANCELLOR METHUEN OF IRELAND.

Madrid, May 29. 1697.

A PUBLIC Minister tells me a *Propio* is come this morning from Barcelona in four days; that Monsieur de Vendome was at Gerona with 25,000 men, to which four more would be drawn out of their garrisons; that they had all preparations ready for a siege, and were marching directly to Barcelona, where was the greatest consternation imaginable; that the useless mouths and things of the greatest value were sent out; and that the Deputation of the City had been with the Captain General, desiring his leave to set up the standard of Santa Eulalia, patroness of that province, which is never done but in the extremest exigencies. He desired till next day to consider of it, because then, by ancient custom, the power of the Viceroy ceases, and the Government devolves into the hands of the natives.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, May 29. 1697.

YESTERDAY came to town from Cadiz sixty mules laden with silver on the King's account.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, June 26. 1697.

THE Almirante de Castilla * is fallen very much into disfavour with the King and Queen for setting up to outvie them in his furniture, attendance, and all parts of state in his family, whereat the Queen in particular is so offended, that she has refused to see either him or his bride, whom in town they commonly call the *Reyna nueva*. This was very unexpected, and if it holds will make a great change in the management of affairs in this Court.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, July 3. 1697.

THEY are here mightily crest-fallen in their confidence for Barcelona since last week, when, besides 17,000 men in the town, they had so many Miquelets, Somatenes, &c. without, who had taken all the posts by which the French could retreat, so that not a man of them should escape, — but they are now sufficiently undeceived. The enemy invested the place, opened their trenches the 8th, much nearer the place than otherwise they could have done, being sheltered by some religious houses, which the devotion of this country would not suffer to be pulled down. The garrison has made three or four sallies to no great purpose.

* The “Admiral of Castille” was an hereditary office, or rather title.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, July 17. 1697.

THE Queen's Confessor, a German Capuchin, has mediated an accommodation between Her Majesty and the Almirante, and she has made his peace with the King. All which was ratified two days ago by Her Majesty accepting a collation in the Almirante's garden, where he presented her with no mean jewel, and her ladies with other galantries, in all, to the value of some thousands of doubloons.

Count Harrach * has yet had no public audience, the style of his letter to the Queen being excepted against, wherein the Emperor gives her only *Dilectio* instead of *Serenitas* †, as he always writ to the Queen Mother his sister. A courier is sent to Vienna upon this occasion.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, July 24. 1697.

As we talk of nothing else here beside Barcelona, so you can expect little more from me. It is certain they have defended themselves beyond ex-

* The Austrian Ambassador.

† Answering to the German titles *Liebden* and *Durchlaucht*. See the Mémoires de Bareith, vol. ii. p. 249.

pectation, and seem still very courageous, yet if our squadron comes not suddenly to their relief they must soon yield. The Prince of Hesse is the idol of the Catalans, and if any thing save Barcelona it will be his being in it.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, August 1. 1697.

THOSE in Barcelona write with great resolution of defending it by intrenchments, street by street, to the last man, and all speak wonders of the Prince of Hesse, who is every where to animate them.

The Comte de Harrach made his entrance five days ago without any the least pomp or ostentation, like a man that goes to the essence of his business directly without ceremony, which yet I find is not so well taken by this ceremonious people.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, August 21. 1697.

BARCELONA began to capitulate, or Don Francisco de Velasco for them without their knowledge, the 30th of July. The 7th of August it was proposed by him to the inhabitants that they should give in their demands, which, seeing no remedy,

they very unwillingly did the day following. The 9th they writ their solemn farewell letter to His Catholic Majesty (I herewith send you a copy), which is a valuable paper, not only for its moving tenderness and great respect to the King, but as being, it may be, the only instance of a rich city expressing the utmost unwillingness to change masters, and rather choosing the greatest extremities than submit to a conqueror who offered them all the most advantageous conditions they could desire. The 10th, the capitulations were adjusted, and signed the next morning. The garrison was to march out the 15th by the breach. All privileges are confirmed to the inhabitants who choose to stay that they enjoyed under the King of Spain, except the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and the sanctuary of churches in cases of murder, which are two resolutions likely to be very sensible to the nature of these people, that they may not have all freedom to burn and murder one another!

The Prince of Hesse storms and rages, saying he could have defended the place a month longer, as it is believed he might.*

His Catholic Majesty, to secure the minds of his good subjects in Aragon, has this day declared to the several Councils, that he will the next month

* It appears that the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was at the head of the garrison, and that Don Francisco de Velaseo, as Captain General of Catalonia, commanded the army encamped in the neighbourhood. See Mr. Dunlop's *Memoirs of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 272.; a trust-worthy and excellent work.

march in person to Zaragoza, and all concerned ordered to be ready to attend him ; 500 horse are raising here, and all the saddlers and tailors in town are set at work in all haste. 1500 foot are also ordered to be raised, for which, and other charges of that expedition, many more men being to be raised in other parts, the Queen offers to pawn her jewels, the Archbishop of Toledo to rob several churches in Madrid, where considerable sums have been deposited as in safe and sacred places, and also to make bold with another treasure deposited in Toledo by a Saint, a former Archbishop, for some extraordinary exigency either of church or state. The revenue of the *Bullas* and *Subsidio Escusado* paid by all churchmen, is besides declared to be from this time wholly appropriated to this war, and all anticipations upon them to be postponed *sine die*, that is, never to be paid. Every body looks on the King's voyage as a jest, though the pretence will be used to raise several ways great sums of money, besides that the noise of it will much please the Aragonese for a little while, and all here believe for certain the general peace will be declared in less than two months.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, September 12. 1697.

I FEAR the loss of Barcelona will make the terms of peace something harder for Spain ; but all people

here do so vehemently thirst after it, that it will be welcome almost upon any terms.

The discourse of the King's voyage to Zaragoza cools very much.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, September 27. 1697.

YOU will not much care to hear that Maria de la Cabeça, wife to St. Isidro, patron of Madrid, is lately canonized, and declared as good a saint as her husband; yet this news has been celebrated all the nights of this week with flambeaux, luminaries, bells, *mogigangas**, &c., and *toros* are preparing for next month, whether we have peace or not.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, October 2. 1697.

THE day before yesterday arrived here two expresses, with the joyful news that the peace was

* According to Mr. Dunlop, *mogigangas* (or *moxigangas*) were "a peculiar species of masquerade in which the performers dressed themselves up as wild animals." *Memoirs of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 409.

signed * ; and it is already published in the Madrid Gazette, that Luxembourg, Barcelona, and all whatsoever taken since the beginning of this war, will be restored. This, you may believe, occasions no small joy in this Court, although the public demonstrations of it are deferred till the arrival of a kinsman of Ambassador Quiros with all particulars : who, being a fat gentleman, rides slowly, and is not yet come.

TO LORD LEXINGTON, AT VIENNA.

Madrid, October 11. 1697.

THIS Court is so transported with joy for a peace, so far beyond their expectation, that, for these last ten days, we see nor hear nothing but public demonstrations of it, in all kinds. Their Catholic Majesties went yesterday afternoon in great state, with a cortège of most of the Grantees, to their devotions of thanks at Nuestra Señora de Atocha ; and we are to have a *Fiesta de Toros* the 24th of this month, which, your Lordship knows, is the Spaniards' *ne plus ultra* of festivals.

* The peace of Ryswick. All the French conquests in Catalonia and the Netherlands were restored to the Spaniards, by the exertions of William III., and from the views of Louis XIV. upon the whole Spanish succession.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, October 25. 1697.

THEIR Majesties have been out of Madrid ten days, viz. at Alcala, in devotion to St. Diego of that place, whose body was brought to the King in his greatest extremity, and is thought to have had the greatest part in the miracle of his recovery. Thence they went, for one night, in their way to Toledo, where they have been five or six days entertained with bullfeast, mascarades, mogi-gangas, &c., and are expected back here after to-morrow.

The Conde de Cifuentes, whom you must have known in Flanders by the name of Marques of Alconcher, going, about a fortnight ago, to complain to the Capuchin, the Queen's Confessor, of the ill offices the Almirante did him underhand in stopping all his pretensions, and expressing himself in very angry terms according to the heat of his temper, the good Father innocently, as is supposed, gave an account of all his discourse to the Queen and Almirante, who thereupon obtained a *decreto* from the King to banish him to a certain distance from Court. This Cifuentes having early notice of, absented himself from home, not to be notified with the *decreto*, and, in the mean time, sends a challenge to the Almirante, who accepted it, choosing for his second his great friend and favourite Don Francisco Trullos. The Duke of Infantado was to be second

to the Conde, and time and place were appointed, but the matter was so ordered that the Almirante and his friend were seized as they were going to the *rendez-vous*, upon notice whereof their adversaries retired to secure themselves in the Convent of San Francisco. The Duke, the next day, quitted the sanctuary, and was allowed to appear at Court. The Conde, hearing it was debated in Council to demand of the Prior to deliver him up, is since also gone thence, but absconds, and though three *edictos* have been published, commanding him to render himself prisoner within three days in the Carcel de Corte, under the severest penalties, yet he appears not, but is privately in town, and swears nothing shall hinder him from killing the Almirante. Several of his friends have used all possible arguments to convince him of his folly, but all in vain; and it is from one of them I have this account. This makes the greatest subject of our present discourse, and all are expecting how it will end when the King and Almirante return hither.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, October 30. 1697.

THE Almirante has solicited hard for the King's pardon to the Conde de Cifuentes, and I hear it is adjusted that he is to be banished some leagues from Court for a short time for form's sake, and that after-

wards he shall be either General of the gallies of Spain, or have some other very good post, which is what he wanted, and has got by huffing the first Minister.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, November 13. 1697.

THE 6th instant, being His Catholic Majesty's birthday, we had our Fiesta de Toros. It was very unfortunate, by many fatal accidents, four or five being killed upon the place. What is most lamented is the loss of Don Juan de Velasco, one of the *Toriadores*, whose leg and thigh were ripped up by the bull's horn, as far as the groin, of which he died three days after. He had newly had the government of Buenos Ayres given him. The King has made his young son a *Titulo de Castilla*, and the Queen has sent for his daughter from Seville to be one of her *Damas*.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, December 11. 1697.

WE have a strange scene of affairs here ; the Almirante de Castilla, first Minister, retired to the Palace, where he lodges in the Prince of Spain's apartment, for fear of having his throat cut by a

private gentleman, the Conde de Cifuentes, who appears every day in the streets, though the justice are in pursuit of him, and 2000 doubloons offered to apprehend him, and *pena de la vida* to any who harbour or conceal him; as also all who are suspected to be his friends, seized, imprisoned, or banished. How this will end you must suddenly hear, for it is too violent to last long.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, December 18. 1697.

THE Conde de Cifuentes, since the last proclamation against him, has left Madrid, and sent another challenge to the Almirante, who continues still in the Palace. The Spanish paper I send you is very authentic, and will give you great light into that whole affair, as also let you see that Cervantes has not wholly reformed this nation, but that there are still *Quixoterias* left among them.

TO LORD LEXINGTON, AT VIENNA.

Madrid, January 2. 1698.

THIS Court is not at all inclined to admit the offer of the Dutch troops to garrison their places in Flanders. They have consulted their theolo-

gians, who declare againts it as a matter of conscience, since it would give great opportunities to the spreading of heresy. They have not yet sent their answer, but it is believed it will be in the negative, and that they will rather choose to lie at the mercy of the French as being Catholics.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, January 8. 1698.

A *PREGON* has been made three days successively by the common *Pregonero*, offering 2000 doubloons to whoever shall bring the Conde de Cifuentes in, either alive or dead. In answer to which he, or his friends for him, fixed upon the corner of the Carcel de Corte a new *desafio* to the Almirante, to meet him in the Swiss Cantons, *sopena de ruin Cavallero*, and over against it was pasted an answer framed for the Almirante, excusing himself that he could not meet that fair challenge because he was *en Palacio a la Carona del Rey*.* This expression "*carona*," signifies the action of mothers or nurses when they put the child's face close to their own, to cherish and keep them warm.

The Prince of Darmstadt is preparing for Catalonia, and it is time, for the great favours and honours heaped upon him in so short a time, have

* "In the Palace, under the King's keeping."

occasioned most bitter pasquinades, both against his cousin * and himself.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, January 15. 1698.

LAST week was proclaimed a *pregon* three several days, declaring the Conde de Cifuentes a *bandito*, and authorising any body to kill him if he did not render himself in such a time, wherein some malicious people say the Almirante has a second intention, and that the question now is, whose bravos can despatch their men first? The King is not nice in diverting himself publicly with the Almirante's fears; for, one day last week, hunting the wild boar, the boar, being pursued by a rabble, made toward the King; and the King called out to the Almirante to have a care of himself, for Cifuentes was coming!

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, March 14. 1698.

OUR Court is in great disorder: the Grandees all dog and cat, Turk and Moor. The King is in a languishing condition; not in so imminent a

* The Queen.

danger as last week, but so weak and spent as to his principles of life, that all that I can hear is pretended amounts only to hopes of preserving him some few weeks, without any probability of a recovery. The general inclination as to the succession is altogether French; their aversion to the Queen having set them against all her countrymen; and if the French King will content himself, that one of his younger grandchildren be King of Spain, without pretending to incorporate the two monarchies together, he will find no opposition either from *Grandeess* or common people. By this account, you may imagine the French Ambassador* has not yet had audience, at which he is much dissatisfied, although, indeed, the King is not in a condition to give it, speaking very little, and that not much to the purpose. The terms in which they express it to me is, that he is *embelecado atolondrado* and *dementado*. . . . He fancies the devils are very busy in tempting him.

TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND, AT PARIS.

Madrid, March 14. 1698.

THE King is so very weak, he can scarcely lift his hand to his head to feed himself; and so extremely melancholy, that neither his buffoons, dwarfs, nor puppet-shows, all which have showed their abilities

* The Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Harcourt.

before him, can in the least divert him from fancying every thing that is said or done to be a temptation of the devil, and never thinking himself safe but with his Confessor, and two friars by his side, whom he makes lie in his chamber every night.

TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Madrid, April 16. 1698.

THE King's journey to Toledo holds still for the 25th of this month, if he be able to bear it, which is much feared. He would probably mend faster if they would let him be quiet, but two great factions, pressing him continually by turns to their different purposes, make him very uneasy.

The French Ambassador is very much offended he is not admitted to see the King; complaining that when he sends every morning to know how his Majesty rested, and how he does, they answer (as to every body) that he is very well; but always, when he desires a private audience, they tell him he is very ill, and not in a condition to receive him!

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, May 21. 1698.

THE French Ambassador has not only offered verbally, but presented a letter from his Master,

written with his own hand, to the King of Spain, to offer him what ships, galleys, and land-men he shall think necessary to relieve Ceuta, and beat away the Moors. The proposal has been lately debated in the Council, but I do not hear any thing is yet resolved, though the place be daily more and more pressed, and they take here very little care to assist and reinforce the garrison. The Marques de Villadarias, the new Governor, arrived here two days ago from St. Sebastian, and is making all haste thither.

TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND, AT PARIS.

Madrid, May 23. 1698.

THE news that makes most noise here at present is, that the 17th instant, the Marquesa de Gadagne, an old intriguing French lady here, was ordered by the President of Castille, in the King's name, to leave Madrid in twenty-four hours, and to retire thirty-six leagues distance. This lady has long had a considerable pension here for a service she did Spain at Rome, in the time of the war of Messina, by picking letters out of the French Ambassador's Secretary's pocket, wherein were secrets of great importance relating to Sicily, and betraying them to a Spanish gallant. Yet ever since I came here she has been thought rather in the French interest,

and all the cabals of that party were held at her house.*

TO MR. METHUEN, AT LISBON.

Madrid, May 23. 1698.

OUR Conde de Cifuentes was last week in Madrid, at which his friend Oropesa was very angry, and intimated to him to be gone speedily; there is no hope of accommodating that affair, our new President having done since his entrance nothing I can hear of, but the noble exploit of banishing the poor old lady.†

TO MR. YARD, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE.

Madrid, May 28. 1698.

THEIR Majesties are expected here the beginning of next month, the Queen being very uneasy at the impudent railleries of the Toledo women, who affront her every day publicly in the streets, and call the Almirante *Gallina* to his face.‡ There

* Twenty years afterwards we find a Prime Minister of France, Abbé Dubois, carrying on his intrigues at Rome, under the cant name of Madame de Gadagne. Was it with any reference to the lady mentioned in this letter? See the *Mémoires de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 282.

† Madame de Gadagne.

‡ It appears from a passage of the Spanish Casuist Diana (tr. 14. R. 99. as quoted in the *Septième Provinciale*), that *Gallina* (hen, or, according to our phrase, chicken-hearted,) was the term of reproach usually shouted out against any one who had refused to fight a duel.

is besides great want of money; for the King's new Confessor, having persuaded him, before he left Madrid, to publish a decree, forbidding the sale of all governments and offices, either in present or reversion, as a duty of conscience, the Conde de Adanero, who is *Supra-intendente de las Rentas Reales*, declares he is not able to find money for his Majesty's subsistence, all branches of the revenue being anticipated for many years, and he is now debarred by this decree from beneficiating offices, which was the only resource he had left: therefore has desired he may lay down his employment.

The difference between the Almirante and Conde de Cifuentes is now in a fair way of adjustment, the former being ordered to render himself in a castle called Badores, not far from Toledo, and the Conde at Valladolid, there to expect the King's pleasure. The Conde de Oropesa has contrived this expedient, and both parties have consented to it.

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR METHUEN OF
IRELAND.

Madrid, June 11. 1698.

I HEAR Mr. Methuen mightily extolled both by English and Portuguese, so that I may venture to say the son has behaved himself as well at Lisbon, as the father in Ireland; and really I think I cannot *encarecer mas*. And if I could, I know you would easily pardon me. *Pater a filio vinci*

gaudet, is a saying I never knew fail but in one instance, namely, the Conde de Cifuentes, father of the present who has made so much noise. He, when he heard any person commend his son's bravery, fell presently into a hectoring passion, crying out, *Boto a Christo, por valiente que sea, no puede ser mas valiente que su padre !**—But whither am I running? Pardon this excursion, Sir, and be assured that I am, &c.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, June 11. 1698.

WHAT I can discover of these people's inclination is for a French Prince, provided they can be assured the same shall never be King of France. By that choice, they think they shall secure peace and quietness at home; but they would rather have the devil than see France and Spain united. It is scarce conceivable the abhorrence they have for Vienna, most of which is owing to the Queen's very imprudent conduct, insomuch that, in effect, all that party is included in her own person and family. They have much kinder thoughts for the Bavarian, but still rather desire a French Prince, for the reason aforesaid, to secure them against a war, which they see cannot be avoided in either of the other choices.

* "I swear that, however brave he may be, he cannot be more brave than his father!"

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, June 11. 1698.

THE King will not bear to hear talk of business of any kind, and when the Queen sometimes cannot contain herself, he bids her let him alone, and says she designs to kill him. His greatest diversion when abroad is to entertain himself alone with any country people he meets, ordering his attendants to keep at a distance, as he lately did with a gardener whom he asked, whether there were any “obstructions” in the country thereabouts, which it seems the Doctors had told him was his disease. The honest gardener innocently answered he did not know what they were, nor whether there might be any in that country, but this he was sure, that he had never planted any of them in his garden! — with which *naïveté* the King was much pleased, and as such related it to his Courtiers when they joined him. He leaves Toledo this day, and is expected here to-morrow.

 TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, June 25. 1698.

OUR Gazettes here tell us every week His Catholic Majesty is in perfect health, and it is the general answer to all who inquire of him. It is true that

he is every day abroad, but *hæret lateri lethalis arundo* ; his ankles and knees swell again, his eyes bag, the lids are as red as scarlet, and the rest of his face a greenish yellow. His tongue is *travada*, as they express it, that is, he has such a fumbling in his speech, those near him hardly understand him, at which he sometimes grows angry, and asks if they be all deaf.

The Almirante was ordered to stay behind the King at Toledo by the Cardinal of Toledo's persuasion, with a troop of horse for his guard against Cifuentes, but Her Majesty has since prevailed for his return — *Llora, muger, y venceras !* * — and he came hither four days ago, accompanied with about a hundred horse.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, June 29. 1698.

THE 25th after dinner the King retired with the Queen on pretence of siesta, and were locked up together about an hour : in the course of the evening they went to the Casa del Campo — where the King walked several turns in the garden, and returning about eight, as he passed the river, complained of a swimming in his head — but it soon went over, and he supped as usual without any thing remarkable or

* “ Weep, woman, weep, and triumph shall be thine ! ”

extraordinary either in the quality or quantity of what he eat. Some time after supper, at near ten, he went into his oratory to his private devotions, attended by the Duque de Uzeda, the gentleman in waiting, where he had not been long before he cried out to the Duke to hold him, for he was falling, as he did immediately into the Duke's arms, deprived of all sense, and so continued a quarter of an hour; he no sooner returned a little out of the first, but was seized by a second fit, and after by a third; in one of the two latter he remained about three quarters of an hour.

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR METHUEN OF
IRELAND.

Madrid, July 9. 1698.

THERE is not the least hopes of this King's recovery, and we are every night in apprehensions of hearing he is dead in the morning, though the Queen lugs him out abroad every day, to make the people believe he is well till her designs are ripe, which I rather fear will prove abortive, for by the best informations I can get of the three pretenders, her candidate is like to have the fewest votes. Upon old Comte de Harrach's pressing the King to have the Archduke Charles sent for to Spain, and when that would not go, that he might be made Governor of Milan, and Prince Vaudemont his Lieu-

tenant, he gave no answer, but turning to the Queen who was present, said, laughing, *oyga, muger, el Conde aprieta mucho* *, repeating three or four times the *aprieta mucho*. The French Ambassador does no less *aprietar*, and the Nuncio also in the Pope's name in favour of the French. This has occasioned a discourse of calling Cortes Generales to declare and settle the succession, which I look on only as a present shift of the Counsellors of State, but never intended, for they see themselves lost without resource, and when the *Lance* happens, resolve to submit to the disposal of Divine Providence, having none at all of their own!

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 9. 1698.

HIS Majesty has had no sensible alteration since his great fit I wrote you by the last express. He is made to go abroad every day, though he looks like a ghost, and moves like an image of clock work. They talk of a diet of hens and capons, fed with vipers' flesh.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, July 9. 1698.

THE Almirante, since his return from Toledo, is made an Admiral indeed, and Generalissimo of all

* "Listen, Madam, how pressing is the Count!"

the forces of Spain by sea, with the title of *Principe de la Mar*, given to the late Don Juan de Austria when he ruled all here.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 23. 1698.

THE French gain, and the Germans visibly lose ground every day. The French Ambassador's lady is huzzaed as she passes the Plaza and Calle Mayor. *Ah que linda, ah que hermosa que esta! Deos la bendiga!* and to the Ambassador, *Viva el Señor Ambajador de Francia!* These I look on as artifices industriated, yet their being well received shows the people's inclination. The lady, whom I have visited, is very well behaved, and seems a very proper person to manage a Court intrigue. She is already the Queen's favourite, who is extremely charmed with her gaiety and free humour, so different from the starched gravity of the Spaniards.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, July 23. 1698.

HERE is a report that our new French lady has sweetened Her Majesty by a proposal that she may still continue Queen of Spain by a second marriage

in France. It is not impossible, and our Holy Father the Pope will not be difficult to grant a dispensation.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, August 6. 1698.

BESIDES the Portugal Envoy, M. Coque, Envoy of the Elector of Mayence, has positive orders from his Master to visit no Ambassador without an hour appointed for visits of ceremony.

Comte Harrach and I cannot agree to meet upon that punctilio, though he has been very industrious and importunate with me to admit an expedient of seeing one another in a third place. The pretence was to confer about a new *office* he is going to pass in this Court, in order to the King our Master's satisfaction in the business of M. Schoenberg. M. Adam Selder, Secretary to the Embassy, whom you know, brought me the messages. I disowned any commission, instructions, or knowledge of what would satisfy His Majesty in that matter, and therefore excused giving my opinion; adding, that I could say no more to the Comte, and therefore begged his pardon for not meeting him. Selder returned again and again, still pressing me from the Comte for an interview, proposing it might be in the midway betwixt Madrid and Fuen-carral; and that to avoid all pretences of ceremony,

neither should stir out of his coach, but send off the servants while we should discourse. Overcome by these importunities, I at last consented to meet him in that manner, always declaring I would offer nothing on my part, and only hear what he should propose, to give an account thereof to the King my Master. Last Sunday in the evening, betwixt five and six, was the time appointed. I arrived first, and soon after the Comte came a large trot after me. When he was two coach lengths behind me, I stopped, believing he would come up close to me and do so too, as was our agreement. Instead of which, he passed on by me the same pace, and we only saluted one another at about ten yards distance. I fancied either he did not think the place convenient, as being too public, and so went on to find one properer, there to stay for me as I had done for him, or that he meant to turn about and come back, so that we might meet face to face, which made me still follow him, he going his great trot, and I gently at a distance after him, till I saw him turn off on the right hand a by-way to the village of Chamartin, where he entered into the Duke of Pastrana's house, and immediately into the gardens, which standing high, we saw him walking there, as we came along the road after him. Till then I understood not his meaning, which was, that it should be thought I went there to visit him, and not he to meet me upon equal terms, as he had agreed, and instead of following him to the house, as he expected, I turned off by

another road straight back to Madrid, leaving him to enjoy the pleasure of his garden to himself. Next morning he sent Selder to me again to excuse the misunderstanding ; that the reason of his going on to that garden was in order to the greater privacy of our conversation, where the servants might think it an accidental meeting, nor the people in the road take notice of it. I asked Selder whether he had proposed to me to meet in the public road, and discourse without coming out of our coaches ; and, contrary to my expectation, he was so ingenuous as to own it. I asked him, then, whether the Comte took notice that I stopped my coach when he came near me ; he told me yes. I asked him what he could think the meaning of that to be, unless to comply with our agreement, for otherwise I should not have stopped to have let any coach pass, except the King's. He could only reply that the Comte thought he did for the best in choosing a private place, but that since we did not then understand one another, he desired I would give him another meeting, and that it might be in Mr. Arther's house. That, I confess, put my patience to the utmost trial. I told him one trick was sufficient, and that I would not expose myself to a second *desayre* ; that I wished the Comte success in his negotiation, but would never have any thing more to do with him upon that account. This *Lance* is now the discourse of Madrid in all companies, who are so kind as to judge *que yo he quedado bien, y que esta clavado el Conde*, by my leaving

him planted in the garden, and refusing to have any thing more to do with him. I am of opinion our differences will never be composed by the German mediation, and am sure Comte Harrach is so abhorred here, that every thing he meddles in fares the worse, and I take the Comte also to be a man of tricks, that is, in a gross German way.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, August 15. 1698.

COMTE HARRACH, the father, takes to-morrow his audience of leave, and two days after the son makes his *entrada*, who is not like to mend matters for his Master's interest, which, if possible, daily grows worse and worse, and I more confirmed in the opinion I have formerly given you. The French Ambassador dares all this Court as a hawk does larks.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, September 3. 1698.

THE Conde de Oropesa is ill of a fever, not without some danger; they say it was occasioned by insolencies done towards him in the streets, and satirical verses sung nightly under his windows, wherein, among other things, they threatened they

would fry him in his own oil, of which commodity, it seems, he has a great magazine, reserved till the present time of scarcity.

The French Ambassador has demanded to have his *Hospidaje*, that is, to be treated nine days in a house designed for that purpose at the King's charge. This is a custom that has been many years antiquated here, except with Turks, Moors, and Muscovites; however it is granted him. Both he and his lady behave themselves with great popularity, and squandering of money on all occasions, so that they are the idols of the common people.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, September 17. 1698.

I WILL conclude with a pleasant story received last post from Cadiz, that the King of Mequinez has writ a letter to the Parliament of England, to persuade them to call back and re-establish the late King James, and then he will make peace and a treaty of commerce with them; that it is true indeed he has been an idolater by turning Papist, but that, upon their representing to him his error, he will be so no more; and that they ought not to force him to wander in a strange land, but recall him home, that he may be buried in the sepulchre of his fathers! I am promised a copy, and may send it you; the phrase is very natural Mahometan Mequinez.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, September 17. 1698.

HER Majesty is now as much in the French interest as she was before in the German, having received all imaginable assurances from Paris that, whatever may happen here, she shall still continue Queen of Spain, nor do I write this without very good grounds.

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY, AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

Madrid, October 10. 1698.

I SHALL esteem it a great favour if your Excellency pleases to let me know sometimes by your Secretary what passes in your Court, for their Gazettes only tell us where the King, Dolphin, and Duke of Burgundy hear mass and vespers.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, October 15. 1698.

OUR French Ambassador and his Lady are much sunk in the favour both of Court and people, living now at home in as great solitude as before they were crowded. The chief occasion of which I

take to be the better hopes of the King's recovery, and that they are not likely so soon to fall into his Master's hands.

The favourable change in the King is attributed to a plaster an Aragonese doctor has applied to his stomach, which is renewed every week, and has much strengthened his digestion. Or rather what I believe has done it more is, that he has of late drank two or three glasses of pure wine every meal, whereas he had never taken any thing before in all his life but water boiled with a little cinnamon.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, October 29. 1698.

THE ways between the Coruña and Madrid in winter, what by snows or floods, are oftentimes impassable for some weeks together, insomuch that I have been seven and eight weeks without receiving a letter from England, whereas I have never known the French post retarded above four or five days.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE.

Madrid, November 21. 1698.

THE French Ambassador and his Lady are now undeceived as to the Spanish humour, and fully

satisfied that all those caresses they took to proceed from inclination and affection were only the sprinkings of Court holy-water. They are both preparing to be gone in all haste, she in fifteen days, and he in a month or two after; the causes of this sudden resolution are much discoursed; some say his Master is dissatisfied with his conduct, but he gives out his domestic affairs.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, November 26. 1698.

OUR French Ambassador is leaving us. Whether the Grand Monarque be offended with this Court or his own Minister does not yet appear; I rather believe it is with both; this King that he does not die, and his Minister for assuring him he could not live, which belief has made this last year as chargeable to him as any during the late war.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, December 29. 1698.

OUR King of Spain continues well; and you must have heard of his publishing his testament in Council, wherein he declared the Electoral Prince of Bavaria his nephew, his heir and successor.

All endeavours have been used to smother it. Of their Majesties, he shuffles off the discourse, and she positively has denied it to the German Ambassador, as do all the Privy Councillors ; but it is most certain, and our Master knows it long before this from the Elector, as we have an account from Flanders. None disowns it more than our friend Bertier *, who sent the news by express to his Master the night of the Council. What it will produce we must expect, for it seems a resolution very ill timed, though the thing itself is undoubtedly the best this people can do for themselves and all Christendom that are no pretenders.

TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

Madrid, January 6. 1699.

THE scarcity of money here is not to be believed but by eye-witnesses, notwithstanding the arrival of so many flotas and galleons, supplies not to be expected again in many years, for the last flota went out to India empty, and *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Their army in Catalonia, by the largest account, is not 8000 men, one half of them Germans and Walloons, who are all starving and deserting as fast as they can. When I came first to Spain they had eighteen good men-of-war ; these are now reduced to two or three, I know not which. A wise coun-

* The Bavarian Envoy.

cil might find some remedy for most of these defects, but they all hate and are jealous one of another; and if any among them pretends to public spirit to advise any thing for the good of the country, the rest fall upon him, nor is he to hope for any support from his Master, who has the greatest facility of any prince in the world in parting with his best friends and dearest favourites. This is a summary account of the present state of Spain; which, how wretched soever it may seem to others, they are in their own conceit very happy, believing themselves still the greatest nation in the world, and are now as proud and haughty as in the days of Charles the Fifth.

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY, AT PARIS.

Madrid, January 15. 1699.

THE people here are very jealous of what you have transacted in Holland, and their ambassador, Quiros, pretends to have penetrated the secret, assuring them it is a repartition of their monarchy agreed between our King and the French. This they are very angry at, saying, they will rather deliver themselves up to the French or the devil, so they may go all together, rather than be dismembered.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, January 21. 1699.

THE French Ambassador here has, at last, opened concerning the late declaration of the succession; and three days ago demanded of the King, in his Master's name, to call Cortes Generales to settle that great point. No answer is yet given him, though it suffered a long debate in Council yesterday.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, February 4. 1699.

THE French Ambassador has pressed very hard all this last week for an answer to his Memorial, and was yesterday with Don Antonio de Ubilla, urging again, that, if the Council of State could not agree what to say to him, the King should call Cortes Generales, who would be the properest judges of that matter. The motion was very ill taken, which he little values, not having for some time observed any measures with these people. His method has succeeded well, for this afternoon they sent him an answer. As I hear, the substance is, that His Catholic Majesty has not contravened in the least to what he promised the Most Christian King

which was only to maintain inviolably the peace of Ryswick ; and that as to his late will that has made so much noise, it contains nothing new as to the Succession, or different from that he made in his great illness above two years ago.

This, if so, seems nothing less than a resolution to stand by what they have done ; but, in answer to your query, what measures they take here to render it effectual, I assure you that is the least of their thoughts, for they neither raise men, nor have money to put themselves in any state of defence, insomuch that, as I have it from eye-witnesses, Barcelona is just as when the French left it, not a brick or stone laid any where to repair the breaches !

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, February 11. 1699.

THE pretenders to politics here expect the French will enter this spring either into Navarre or Catalonia, although they rather think it will be Navarre ; yet it is impossible to discover what they fear most by any preparations they make for defence, for they make not the least in any part, and seem to abandon themselves wholly to Providence.

TO MR. PRIOR, SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF
JERSEY, AT PARIS.

Madrid, February 13. 1699.

WE know very well the principle from which proceed the outside civilities of the French ; but let it be as it is, *oderint dum metuant*, which, it may be, is the best foot England ever ought to desire to stand upon with France. I wish I could tell you we were on so good a one with Spain, who have not a jot more kindness for us ; yet they are infatuated with an opinion that, for our own sakes, we will neither hurt them ourselves, nor suffer any body else to do it, which they think gives them a privilege of using us as they please.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, February 18. 1699.

LAST week I sent you a copy of this King's answer to the French Ambassador's Memorial, but there is now an end of that matter by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, at which I cannot find this Court is much concerned, for it retrieves them out of great difficulties they had run themselves into, that otherwise were likely to have proved very troublesome.

TO MR. HOPKINS.

Madrid, February 18. 1699.

WE had, the post before I received your favour, advice from Holland of the Scotch plantation near Darien, but this Court takes no notice of it, nor, I believe, ever will; however, not to me. We have a saying that it is safe beating a proud man, who, to conceal his own weakness, will not vouchsafe to complain; it is just the case of this people, who as they themselves never will make satisfaction for any injustice they do, so they think it beneath them to complain of those they receive, so that certainly the best way of treating them is, as the Scotch have done, always to be beforehand with them, and put the complaint on their side.

 TO ADMIRAL AYLMER.

Madrid, February 24. 1699.

WE know, by way of Flanders, that all things were very quiet in England, to the confusion of a company of rascally Irish friars here, who had spread abroad, and made half the town believe it, that the Parliament had forced the King away into Holland, and resolved they would have no more Kings!

TO MR. METHUEN, AT LISBON.

Madrid, March 12. 1699.

THE French Ambassador has represented, in writing, the great danger the Spaniards are in of losing their Indies by the great number of English, Scotch, and Dutch lately gone thither, and that they seem also to have a design to destroy the Catholic religion there, having carried over several hundred heretic ministers there to that purpose, which his Master thought very convenient to acquaint his Catholic Majesty, and that some speedy course might be taken to prevent it. The Nuncio, also, as you will easily believe, joined heartily in so holy a design, but with this remarkable circumstance, that as Quevedo makes the devil excuse himself that he had not possessed the Alguazil, but that he himself was *Alguazilado*, so it was not the Nuncio that instigated the Ambassador, but the Ambassador him. However that was between them, they had all the success they could desire, for in three days' time despatches were ordered, made, and sent to all the Spanish Governors there, not to receive any of our ships into their ports, upon no distress whatsoever, not so much as to give us fresh water, nor entertain any communication directly or indirectly with them.

It will throw considerable light on the much debated affair of Darien to insert in this place the Instructions which were sent to Mr. Stanhope by the British Government.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE HONOURABLE
A. STANHOPE.

Whitehall, March 7. 1699.

I BELIEVE you may have heard, that about four years ago, when the Marquis of Tweeddale was Chancellor of Scotland, and his Majesty's Commissioner for holding the Parliament there, and Mr. Johnstone was Secretary of State for that kingdom, under colour of instructions they procured for the advancement of trade in general, they prepared and passed an Act in Scotland for establishing a company, with large powers and privileges, for carrying on a trade both into the East and West Indies. The first effect of it appeared as setting up subscriptions here in London for raising a joint stock to drive an interloping trade in the East Indies, which was immediately taken notice of by our Parliament, who broke the neck of that design, and drove away the Scotchmen who were authors of it; and as soon as his Majesty understood how far he had been imposed on by passing such an Act, without his privity, he dismissed both the Chancellor and Secretary from their employments. The Scotch, being disappointed in London, formed a project of going to the West Indies, which his Majesty has not been able to this

day to know the bottom of; but when he heard that they were engaging the Hamburgers to be concerned with them, he ordered his Resident in that city to oppose it, so that it fell there : however, the Scotch, among themselves, fitted out three or four ships, and privately sailed away last summer. As soon as his Majesty had notice of their arrival at the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, he immediately despatched orders to the respective Governors of the plantations that they should hold no correspondence with the said undertakers, nor give them any succour, they having gone upon a design which his Majesty was no way acquainted with, and therefore could not approve of; so that his Majesty has of himself done all that the Spaniards could have desired of him, either for the preventing or the defeating of this expedition, which, if it be duly considered, ought to preserve his Majesty, and his English subjects, from the least reproach. As occasion, therefore, serves, you will take care to make this matter rightly understood.

I am, &c.

JAMES VERNON.

IN a subsequent despatch of March 27. Secretary Vernon adds : —

It is the interest of England to take all the fair ways they can to defeat that settlement of

Darien, the consequence whereof would be the draining of all our Colonies of the young and vigorous men, by whom the plantations should be improved and secured, besides the setting up of *brigandage* and piracies.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, April 15. 1699.

You have very much obliged me by your letter of the 7th of March, which instructs me not only what to say, but also what to think concerning the Scotch expedition to America, being a thing that before seemed something mysterious. It is not long since I acquainted Mr. Hopkins with the resolutions of this Court, and the orders despatched to the Indies to use all possible means to root out and destroy those poor wretches ; and if they be no otherwise supported than I now see they are, it will be no difficult matter to effect it. This shall be conveyed to every one of the Counsellors of State upon my word and your authority, though I cannot be answerable to you how far they may credit it, for I am informed they are persuaded at present very much otherwise.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, April 29. 1699.

THE Corregidor, Don Francisco de Vargas y Lezama, being in the Plaza Mayor yesterday about

seven of the clock in the morning, a priest came to him and complained of the great want of bread, as at the same time did a poor woman, to whom he answered, very imprudently, they might thank God it was not double the price, although it be now more than as dear again as usual ; and to the woman in particular, who complained of a great charge of children, he replied, rallying, it was her fault to let her husband get so many, upon which she threw a pair of pigeons she had in her hand in his face, calling him *Cornudo* and *Ladron*, and immediately all the rabble pursued him, throwing stones, and had certainly killed him, if he had not, as fast as his horse could run, secured himself in the *Casa de Ayuntamiento*, or Guildhall, and so came off only with a broken pate. The rabble marched on with great noise, crying all the way, *Viva el Rey, y Muera el Conde de Oropesa, el Almirante y el Corregidor!* with this noise entering into the courts of the Palace and up to the King's apartment, crying out, "Bread! bread!" and, "We will have Ronquillo for our Corregidor!" His Majesty hearing this noise, asked what the matter was. At first they told him, nothing but some idle boys; but the disorder increasing, and it being impossible to dissemble the matter any longer, told him it was a tumult of the people, who, wanting bread in the Plaza, came crying out to his Majesty to remedy it. The King bid the Conde de Benevente go and give them some money to quiet them, which he having attempted in vain, returned to his Majesty,

saying, nothing would satisfy them but to have Don Francisco Ronquillo for their Corregidor again, as he had been three or four years before, and then they had bread enough and wanted nothing. The King, looking out of the window, and seeing more and more trooping together every minute, ordered that Ronquillo should be immediately sworn in the office of Corregidor; and the Conde de Benevente went directly to fetch him, and brought him to the Royal Council of Castille, attended by the rabble, shouting, *Viva Ronquillo!* The Council were quickened to despatch him by the melancholy accounts that another body of the mob were burning the Conde de Oropesa's house, and that if Ronquillo did not appear immediately, there would be no saving it. He then came out as Corregidor with his *varra* or white staff in his hand, and, mounting on horseback, went from the Palace attended by the crowd, crying out all the way, *Viva al Rey victor Ronquillo!* and although by this pretence their fury was something abated, yet they soon began again to tear down the iron grates before the windows: some of them they got down, and about fifteen rushing in (but without arms, as indeed most of them were), the Conde's servants, as is believed, killed them all, for they have never appeared since, and it is said the bodies were thrown into a well. Then, having secured the doors and windows, they fired out of the house among the rabble, and killed five or six; one a reformed *Alférez*, whose body his companions took up and carried

immediately away to the Palace, and went with it as far as the top of the stairs that go to the King's lodgings before they were stopped, crying out, "Justice ! "justice!" and demanding the heads of the Conde de Oropesa and Almirante. The Sacrament, in this confusion, was brought out from several churches, with processions of all the orders of friars with crucifixes in their hands, and a crucifix placed in every window as a security to the house. These holy things quieted them for some time, yet still they continued together in the same place. Ronquillo then, thinking to divide them and draw them off, said, "*Hijos*, children, let us go to the Palace, and I will intercede with the King for your pardon." Above 5000 followed him; and all this rabble, coming into the great court of the Palace, just under the King's window, roared out as before, *Viva el Rey, Muera Oropesa !* — "Let the King appear! Let the King appear!" At this noise the Queen came to the window, and told them, "*Hijos*, the King is asleep." The rabble answered, in a great rage, "We do not believe it, for this is no time to sleep."* At last the Queen, seeing their obstinacy to see the King, retired from the window weeping, and called his Majesty, who, saluting them with his hat, and a lower bow than ever he made before, said, "*Hijos mios*, I have given to the Corregidor the orders

* According to other accounts their answer was : *Ya mucho tiempo que dormia, y convenia despetarse !* "He has slept too long, and must now awake !" alluding to his neglect of government. (Ortiz, Compendio, lib. xxi. c. 10.)

“ you desire, with absolute power to do whatever
 “ may conduce to your satisfaction ;” and at the same
 time, addressing himself to the Corregidor, said,
 “ And to you, Don Francisco Ronquillo, I give all
 “ necessary power to do or undo whatsoever may
 “ be for the ease of my subjects ;” and the people
 replying, that they desired his Majesty’s pardon, and
 that they might not be punished for this tumult,
 the King answered them, “ I pardon you, nor shall
 “ you be punished either now or hereafter, of which
 “ I call God to witness,” at the same time wafting
 a white pocket handkerchief in the air ; after
 which he saluted them with his hat as before, and
 retired from the window. The Conde
 de Oropesa, who was ill in bed with a fit of the ague
 when his house was first invested, found means to
 escape in a friar’s habit to the *Convento del Rosario*,
 as did also his wife and children, by breaking a
 wall into another house ; and before they could get
 ready to be gone, the rabble pressed so hard upon
 the house, that they were like to force in, which is
 the excuse I hear was given for the firing that
 killed the Alferez and the rest. All the Royal
 Council of Castille, and many of the *Grandeess*,
 staid in the Palace all night. The Almirante, upon
 the first noise of the tumult, went from his house
 in a mean coach, with two mules and curtains
 drawn, by a private way to the Palace ; nevertheless,
 by some who knew him, was saluted with *Gallina*
 and *Traydor*, and that possibly to-morrow, after

they had done with Oropesa, they would give him a visit. The Cardinal of Toledo was at Toledo; he of Cordova, being very inexperienced in the world, went amongst the rabble, giving them ill words and threats when they were in their highest ferment. They pushed him from one to another, till a body of priests and friars got round him and carried him off. This morning, being the 29th of April, all appeared quiet near the Conde's house, though all this day there are observed little troops of people got together in several parts, and I hear that the body of the masons, carpenters, and coachmakers murmur extremely for the death of some of their brotherhood and friends yesterday, which makes us fear there may be some disorder again this night. The benefit they feel already from this violent medicine is, that a loaf of bread of two pounds, that was yesterday fourteen quartos, is to-day sold for seven and a half; and mutton, yesterday thirteen quartos, is to-day sold for ten per pound.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, April 29. 1699.

THE King is very weak, and declines fast. The tumult yesterday, I fear, may have some ill effect further on his health; it was such as the like never

before happened in Madrid in the memory of the oldest men here, and proves, contrary to what they brag of, that here is a mob as well as in other places. All seems quiet now, but people trooping in several parts together; and the rage of the *gremios* of the *albañiles**, *carpenteros*, and *maestros de coches*, who are the *guapos* of Madrid, for their brethren killed in the Conde's house, and by his servants, make us fear there may be again, this night, a second part to the same tune.

Next time you send me any books, I would have Dampier's Voyages, rather in French than English, that I may oblige some friends here. I am much confirmed, by Collier's book, in the opinion I have long had of our English stage; and it puts me in mind of what I many years ago heard my Lord Chesterfield † say, that he desired his wife and daughters, to make good wives to whom they should marry, might have Presbyterian education. Certainly, at the rate of obscenity and profaneness of our English plays, there are very few, if any, fit for a young woman to see, who is designed to be bred virtuously and modestly. I need not tell you I mean this for your sister, and the reasons are

* *Gremio de albañiles*, company of masons. *Carpenteros*, and *maestros de coches*, I need scarcely translate into carpenters and coachmasters. *Guapo* is that sort of character in a town which friends would call a hero, and enemies a bully.

† This was Philip second Earl of Chesterfield; the same mentioned in the Mémoires de Grammont. — A volume of his Correspondence was published by Mr. Lloyd in 1829.

so evident, that I cannot suspect that from my saying this you will believe me grown morose because I am grown old, since you very well know the contrary.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, April 29. 1699.

At night.

I HAVE, according to your orders, either by myself or friends, published so effectually his Majesty's disowning the Scotch design in the West Indies, that I am sure not a man in Madrid, that ever heard of the former, but has been informed that his Majesty not only disowns it, but has done all that is possible to disappoint it.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, May 13. 1699.

THE Cardinal of Toledo*, who, I hear, was to meet the King to-day at the Pardo, declares he

* The famous Cardinal Porto Carrero, certainly the ablest of the Spanish statesmen at this time. Louis XIV., in his first instructions to his grandson (December 3. 1700), advises him to place great trust and confidence in Porto Carrero. The difficulties and failures in the public business at Madrid afterwards made Louis think lightly of the Cardinal's talents, and we find in the instructions to Count Marsin (July 7. 1701), "On croit les in-

will have all the Queen's favourites and friends banished the Court, by name,—the Almirante, Conde de Aguilar, Countess of Berlips, and her German Capucin confessor. He is a very bold man, and has the people on his side; so it is probable he may go a great way towards it.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, May 13. 1699.

THE Conde de Cifuentes, notwithstanding his late hard usage, has very loyally and generously offered 6000 *fanegas*, that is, 9000 bushels of wheat, which the Corregidor acquainted the King with, and his Majesty very kindly accepted. This will keep the people from starving one day longer, for it is computed about that quantity is consumed every day here.

“tentions du Cardinal très bonnes, mais son ineapacité est re-
 “connue, et la nation le méprise.” But further experience and information soon brought back the King of France to his first opinion, and when Porto Carrero spoke of retiring, Louis most earnestly depreeated such a loss to his grandson's service. He wrote with his own hand to the Cardinal (February 4. 1703), pressing him to remain; and in a letter of the same date to Philip he observes, “L'essentiel maintenant est d'engager le Cardinal Porto Carrero à rentrer au *despacho*, ne fut ce que pour six mois.” Thus also next year, after Porto Carrero had persisted in resigning, Louis writes to Philip, “Etablissez un Conseil sage
 “et éclairé; le Due de Grammont vous nommera ceux que je
 “crois eapables de la composer.” (August 20. 1704.) The very first of the names suggested by Grammont was Porto Carrero's. See the Mémoires de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 227. and 230.

TO ADMIRAL AYLMER.

Madrid, May 14. 1699.

BREAD continues still very scarce, there being no day half enough. . . . Since the tumult here, another has happened at Valladolid, which was more bloody for the time, but sooner appeased, for the gentlemen of that city all mounted on horse-back, and soon dispersed the rabble, whereas not one of all our Grandees here thought fit to show his head that day.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, May 21. 1699.

WE have an addition of above 20,000 beggars flocked from the country round, to share in that little here is, who were starving at home, and look like ghosts.*

TO MR. PRIOR, SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Madrid, May 22. 1699.

THE Cardinal of Toledo, dexterously making his advantage of the late tumult, persuades the King

* Twenty years before, Madame de Villars writes nearly the same: "Ce pauvre peuple paraît ne vivre que de ce qu'on appelle ici *tomar el sol*, tant il est maigre, abattu et misérable." Lettres, p. 85. le 6. Mars 1680.

to whatever he pleases, as the only means to avoid another.

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, May 27. 1699.

THE scarcity of bread is growing on apace towards a famine, which increases by vast multitudes of poor that swarm in upon us from the countries round about. I shifted the best I could, till this day, but the difficulty of getting any without authority has made me recur to the Corregidor, as most of the foreign Ministers had done before; he very courteously, after enquiring what my family was, gave me an order for twenty loaves every day; but I must send two leagues to Vallejas to fetch it, as I have done this night, and my servants with long guns to secure it when they have it, otherwise it would be taken from them, for several people are killed every day in the streets in scuffles for bread, all being lawful prize that any body can catch.

Two days ago all the prisoners in the Carcel de la Villa, about sixty in number, being almost starved, watched their opportunity to get into the Alcalde's armoury, seized the arms, beat off one another's shackles, and forced the Alcalde to open them the door to save his own life. The ringleader, with a crucifix in his hand, marched at the head of

them directly to the Palace, crying, *Señor, pan y pardon !* The King, apprehending it to be another tumult like the former, sent out the Conde de Benevente to assure them of his pardon, and they presently dispersed to several of the nearest convents, who charitably relieved them with bread.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, May 27. 1699.

MY Secretary, Don Francisco*, saw yesterday five poor women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse !

TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Madrid, June 10. 1699.

LAST week was published an order, forbidding, under severe penalties, all exportation of coarse

* This Don Franeiseo had afterwards some narrow escapes in the War of the Suceession. General Stanhope says, in his despatch to Lord Dartmouth from Valladolid, February 23. 1711, "Don Franeiseo de Luna has been my Spanish Seecretary, and was so before to my father for many years. When my Lord Galway went to Madrid, he immediately came and tendered his services to him, for which he was afterwards put in prison, and narrowly escaped hanging. Having found means to escape, he got to me at Barcelona, and has been very useful. He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner with me at Brihuega, but I have with great difficulty got him released as a menial servant, and he is now returning to Barcelona, where he has a wife and family."

wools into foreign countries. It was given upon the petition of the clothiers in Segovia and Toledo, representing that strangers, especially French, bought up all the wools at such extravagant rates that they were not able to carry on their manufacture. I fear we may share in the prejudice, since it will be in the power of the King's officers to make what wools coarse and what fine they please.

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Madrid, June 24. 1699.

HIS Catholic Majesty grows every day sensibly worse and worse. It is true that last Thursday they made him walk in the public solemn procession of Corpus, which was much shortened for his sake. However, he performed it so feebly, that all who saw him said he could not make one straight step, but staggered all the way; nor could it otherwise be expected, after he had had two falls a day or two before, walking in his own lodgings, when his legs doubled under him by mere weakness. In one of them he hurt one eye, which appeared much swelled, and black and blue, in the procession; the other being quite sunk into his head, the nerves, they say, being contracted by his paralytic distemper. Yet it was thought fit to have him make this sad figure in public, only to have it put into the Gazette how strong and vigorous he is!

An advice-boat is newly sent to the West Indies with a prorogation of the Viceroyship of Peru to the Conde de Muneloa for three years longer. He lost his arm at the battle of the Downs, near Dunkirk, and has ever since worn one of silver, for which he is known by the name of *Brazo de Plata*. He, being an old experienced soldier, and long acquainted with that country, is thought more proper to manage the war against the Scots in Darien, than the Conde de Herill, who was named for that employment, although others maliciously say it is only because the Conde de Herill is not able to comply with the Countess of Berlips, in paying the 100,000 crowns he contracted to give her for it.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 8. 1699.

It is impossible to make these people understand the difference between English and Scotch, though on other occasions, when the complaint was on our part, their Ministers have owned to me their King was properly so of Castille, but that in Aragon and Biscay the subjects were no further so, than they thought stood with their own conveniency.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, July 15. 1699.

THE doctors, not knowing what more to do with the King, to save their credit, have bethought themselves to say his ill must certainly be witchcraft, and there is a great Court party who greedily catch at and improve the report, which, how ridiculous soever it may sound in England, I can assure you is generally believed here, and propagated by others to serve a turn. They, finding all their attempts in vain to banish Madame Berlips, think this cannot fail, and all possible endeavours are using to find out any colourable pretences to make her the witch. Nor is it the first time that game has been played here, and with success. Bread is somewhat fallen, which always happens after some threatening papers affixed in public places against the Ministers, whose vile covetousness has certainly in great measure increased the scarcity. The most bloody pasquinades appear every day. These most loyal subjects seem to have lost all manner of respect to Majesty, at least the present, and whenever he fails them there will be more work cut out than can be finished in my days.

I have writ for some necessaries, and must now add another, that is, a good cook. I mean a man-cook, as all my brethren have, for I am convinced by woeful experience, women will not do in this

country. I need not tell you Mary's fault, you know what it is; but I may tell you that it is grown to such an extremity of scandal, that she is grown a dishonour to the nation in this sober country, and I dare not speak to her, for then she falls presently into fits, and is not only useless, but a disorder to the family for ten or fifteen days after. She can look to my fine linen well enough, but is indeed capable of nothing else, least of all for a kitchen, where the fire increases, or at least gives a fair pretence to, her constant thirst.

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY,

Madrid, August 12. 1699.

HIS Catholic Majesty is well again, almost to a miracle; and, so far as I am able to judge by having seen him two several nights lately in the river *, has the very same looks I remember him in in the time of his best health. Upon this unexpected recovery, the Queen and her party have resumed new courage and strength.

* *Paseo del Rio.* At that period it appears that the bed of the Manzanares, being dry in summer, was used as the fashionable promenade.

TO MR. BLATHWAYTE,

Madrid, August 13. 1699.

THE weather is extreme hot here and very sickly, the poor being still almost starved for want of bread after a very plentiful harvest, for which the wisdom of this Government has yet been able to find no other remedy than a Proclamation to send out of town the beggars that have flocked in upon us from the neighbouring countries since this dearth. They have not thought convenient to set a more moderate price upon corn for fear the countrymen should cease to bring it in; but the people begin to be so clamorous, that if something be not speedily done for their relief, there is great reason to fear another tumult, that may not be so easily appeased as the former.

 TO ADMIRAL AYLMER.

Madrid, August 22. 1699.

As to Court factions Her Majesty is now as high as ever; and the Cardinal of Toledo, who carried every thing before him two months ago, dares not now open his mouth, but is sullen, comes seldom to Court, and talks of retiring to Toledo.

It is now two months since I delivered a paper here, by order from England, to desire you might

have your provisions in all the Spanish ports free of the King's duties; I have yet no answer, but am told I shall have it suddenly. Such as it is, I will send it to you to Cadiz. I am afraid it will not be favourable, because they are at present very angry with us upon account of the Scots at Darien, though I have in His Majesty's name disowned being any ways concerned in it.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, August 26. 1699.

IF you find probability of my continuance here, I desire you will find me out an ingenuous young man for a chaplain, capable of being a companion, the solitude of this place being the most uneasy part of the way of living. If you have any acquaintance you think proper, you need not doubt of my approving your choice. If not, I would have you make the compliment from me to the Bishop of Salisbury*, that he please to recommend me one: you will by that means also have an introduction into his acquaintance, which I desire you should; for, notwithstanding the malice of some wanton scribblers, he has approved himself a very great man, and no clergyman of all has contributed more for our present settlement both in Church and State. My allowance is as formerly, forty pounds a year. He need find nothing; and

* Bishop Burnet.

the reputation his having been here will give him at his return, ought to make it a desirable condition for a young man who would advance himself in the world.

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Madrid, August 26. 1699.

THEY are sending with all expedition three small vessels with arms, ammunition, &c. to Carthagena, to be employed against the six Scotch heretic ministers at Darien, who stick more in their stomachs here than all the other 1200 fighting laymen put together.

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, September 9. 1699.

PEOPLE's minds seem as turbulently disposed as I have at any time known them. One night last week a troop of about three hundred, with swords, bucklers, and fire-arms, went into the outward court of the Palace, and under the King's window sung most impudent pasquins and lampoons, and the Queen does not appear in the streets without hearing herself cursed to her face. The pasquins plainly tell her they will pull her out of the Palace and put her in a convent; adding, that their

party is no less than 14,000 strong. . . . This new turn has damped the discourse which was very hot lately of the Almirante's return to Court, and the Cardinal of Toledo is now like to be the great man again. Such is the present posture of our affairs, though probably I may tell you in my next the scene is again altered; for in such a diseased, languishing state as this is, the same counsels can never hold long.

TO ADMIRAL AYLMER.

Madrid, September 15. 1699.

THE Spanish Gazette tells you our great German lady, the Countess of Berlips, is going, nor does she go alone, but all the rest of the German tribe are to accompany her; namely, a fine young lady, her niece, a German woman, a dwarf*, an eunuch, her Majesty's German doctor, the Capucin, her Confessor, and our Father Carparci, who has a character as Envoy from the Elector of Treves, and, though no German, yet one of her chief agents, and as great an eye-sore to the people as any of

* These dwarfs seem to have been a part of the etiquette of the old Spanish Court. Madame de Villars, in describing the collation of Charles the Second and of his first Queen, says, "Il y a deux nains qui soutiennent toujours la conversation." (Lettres, le 26 Janvier, 1680.) Madame d'Aulnoy also, at about the same time, saw in high favour at the Queen-Mother's "une petite naine grosse comme un tonneau et plus courte qu'un potiron!" (Voyage d'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 306.)

them. This seems a great reform, but I believe will prove no amendment at all; for I expect to see others as greedy, if not more, to succeed in their places.

The price of bread is much moderated here; but it is a sicklier time than ever I have known, to such a degree, that any where else they would call it a plague; yet it is only amongst the poorer sort, and occasioned, as is said, by the trash they have been forced to eat all this summer for want of wholesome bread.

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, October 1. 1699.

I HAVE yours of the 23d of August, with the Italian book. The Portugal Envoy and I both agree the author to be Gregorio Leti. His plans are all very fine, and there is nothing to be said against them, but that they are all impossible. His conclusion is extraordinary and ridiculous enough — to see him leave Spain in quiet possession of China and Japan!

TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Madrid, October 21. 1699.

ALL agree the King continues not only well, but grown more vigorous at the Escorial.

They there entertain themselves with a curiosity, in my opinion, very extravagant. The King, Queen, &c. went down together into the Pantheon, as they call it, which is a noble mausoleum, where all the Spanish princes of the House of Austria are buried, when they ordered all the *arcas* to be opened, and the bodies to be exposed to public view. The Queen-Mother, who died last, was as entire as the first day, and without the least offence. The Queen carried the expression of her filial respect beyond what I had ever heard before, by taking her hand and kissing it. Another body, I think it was that of Philip the Third, seemed entire, but when they touched it, fell in pieces.*

TO MR. YARD.

Madrid, October 21. 1699

THEY talk of a famous exorcist come from Germany, who has dissolved several charms by which the King has been bound ever since a child; yet

* This plain narrative seems to throw great doubt on the more romantic story told by Ortiz, and after him by Coxe and Mr. Dunlop, that Charles, having on this occasion opened the coffin of his first Queen, found the beauty of her features still unimpaired, and rushed out of the vault exclaiming, "I shall soon be with her in heaven!" It may also be observed that this Princess had died of the small-pox, or rather, as some suspected, of poison; and in either case her remains must very soon have displayed the marks of dissolution.

not all of them, but that there is great hope of the rest ; and then he will not only have perfect health, but succession. Laugh at this as much as you please, I was told it to-day by a reverend churchman. *

TO MR. STANYAN, SECRETARY OF EMBASSY, PARIS.

Madrid, October 22. 1699.

THIS Court is extremely pleased with the advice of the Scots' removal from Darien, which was a thorn they would never have been able to have pulled out without assistance from yours† ; and I assure you it was very lustily promised, and would certainly have been accepted, if the news had staid a little longer.

TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

Madrid, November 12. 1699.

THE next day after my last I had certain notice from several hands the King had taken his reso-

* Such superstitions were not uncommon in Spain at that period. — “ Le Chambellan Comte de Benevente nous vint “ avertir l'autre jour en pleurant de nous méfier d'une berline “ attelée que la Douairière avait donnée au Roi Catholique, et “ qui devait, disait il, par l'effet d'un sortilège devenir caisse “ d'oranger, pendant que le Roi deviendrait oranger en caisse ! ” (Louville to Torey, May 19. 1701.) Yet these were the contemporaries of Loeke and Newton !

† The Court of France.

lution of ordering me to begone; whereupon at midnight I despatched to the Escorial my agent with the paper, of which the enclosed is a copy. The Secretary of the Despacho Universal, Don Antonio de Ubilla*, would not receive it, but was willing to hear the contents by word of mouth, and that was as much as I desired. Two days after, the Conductor, or Master of the Ceremonies, came to order me, in the King his master's name, to begone out of the Spanish dominions in eighteen days, and not to stir out of my house till I should begin my journey. I have every day since solicited my passports, being ready to begone whenever they give them me; and am told the reason of the delay is to know by next post whether any passports, and in what form, were given to the Marques de Canales, in London, that they may exactly imitate the same with me.

His Catholic Majesty has not been very well lately, which is all laid at the poor Queen's door.

* Afterwards created Marquis de Rivas. He was a man of high honour and ability, but somewhat slow and phlegmatic. — “Quand on presse Don Antonio Ubilla, Secrétaire du Conseil d'expédier des dépêches de six semaines, il répond avec un beau sangfroid: En Espagne les hommes ne sont pas des oiseaux!” (Louville to Torey, May 10. 1701.)

TO HIS SON, JAMES STANHOPE.

Madrid, November 12. 1699.

TIME is precious, because short for the much I have to do. Monday is my day appointed to set out; and I shall be ready, if they send me my passports. The story of my *despedida* here is too long to tell you now, but I am satisfied I have *jugado el lance no mal*; my Lord Ambassador * will tell you something more particular. I am in vigorous health, so as to bear the cold and fatigue of such a journey; and in order thereto shall go well provided both for inside and outside.

 TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, December 23. 1699.

THE new councillors of state in Spain, so many as I know of them, I believe, will not so rashly run themselves and their King into so many absurdities as the old ones have done. I am heartily glad Monterey is banished; who was the most unmannerly, malicious enemy among them.

I found great civility in my passage, both at Vitoria and the river that parts Spain and France, by virtue of his Catholic Majesty's passport, which

* At Paris.

the Alcaldes venerated by putting it on their heads*, and offered not to touch any thing I carried.

M. SCHONENBERG TO THE HON. A. STANHOPE.

Madrid, le 4 Novembre, 1700.

JE ne vous dirai rien du fatal évènement de la maladie du Roi Catholique, puisque je ne doute pas que vous en recevrez la nouvelle par les différens couriers que quelques ministres ont trouvé moyen de faire sortir, malgré les défenses au bureau des postes d'accorder des chevaux sans permission expresse. J'ajoute seulement que son testament fut ouvert la même nuit, et qu'on y a trouvé nommé le Duc d'Anjou pour successeur universel, et, par l'extinction de la lignée, celle du Duc de Berri doit saisir la couronne, qui par suite retournera à la maison d'Autriche par la branche de l'Archiduc Charles, et successivement à la maison de Savoie; mais, Monsieur, ainsi que vous savez, *del dicho al hecho ha gran trecho*.† Cependant, la Junta du Gouvernement a envoyé d'abord l'extrait authentique du dit article à Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne, sans s'engager plus avant sur cette matière, quoiqu'on en souhaite fort ici l'accomplissement, et qu'on s'en flatte comme d'une chose infaillible.

* See my previous note, p. 48.

† " Il y a loin de Dire à Faire."

Sur la nouvelle de l'assemblage des troupes de France le long des Pyrénées, cette Cour a envoyé 3000 pistoles au Gouverneur de Navarre, et 5000 à celui de Guipuzcoa, conjointement avec quelques officiers reformés, afin de veiller sur les mouvemens et les démarches de ces troupes là. Ne dirait-on pas que l'argent abonde ici, et qu'on ne sait qu'en faire, puisqu'on l'emploie si infructueusement, et mal à propos? Mais vous savez quel est le génie de ces Messieurs. Au reste, tout est encore ici assez tranquille; et pourvu que le ventre ne souffre point, le reste ira comme il plait à la Providence.

Le corps du Roi défunt a été ouvert et embaumé hier, et doit être transporté demain au soir au Panthéon de l'Escorial. Le cœur n'était pas plus gros qu'un œuf de pigeon, et mol comme de la craie gâtée. On a trouvé le foie presque pourri, et une pierre au dedans de la grandeur d'une fève, et noir comme du café brûlé. En un mot, de tous les intestins il n'y a eu que la rate de saine.

Je suis, &c.

SCHONENBERG.

I insert the following letter to Mr. A. Stanhope from the British Consul at Seville, as containing a valuable receipt not readily imparted by the Spaniards.

It would seem that at this period ministers pleni-

potentiary were sometimes addressed in the same form as peers, by their subordinates in office.

Seville, February 13. 1691.

MY LORD,

THESE are only to bring to your Lordship's hands the enclosed receipt for a bag of melon seed. Here the usual way to plant them is: first they put them six or eight hours into lukewarm water, and afterwards they put them into a blanket and let them lie about twenty-four hours in the sun wrapped in the blanket, in which time they open and seem to sprout at one end. Then they plant them three or five together in one hole; and when they grow up, with an instrument of iron they rake them towards the root every day, so that the earth lies loose about them like the earth of a mole-hill. There are three sorts: *Melon Mulato*; *Melon Sequero*, this requiring less watering, and *Melon Escrito*, which is red within, with streaks, much like those in England. I shall be glad they arrive safe. I have only to assure your Lordship I am, &c.

ROBERT GODSCHALL.

Hon. Alexander Stanhope.

The following letter is added from Mr. A. Stanhope's papers, as giving a curious account of the state of the Moorish antiquities a century and a half ago. — Mr. Terrick was Mr. Stanhope's chaplain.

REV. SAMUEL TERRICK TO THE HON. A. STANHOPE.

Granada, May 10. 1695.

HONoured SIR,

AFTER seventeen days from our leaving Madrid, we got safe to Granada, where we have spent three days, and design to-morrow for Malaga. We took Cordova in our way, and stayed there a day : it is an old decaying city, about the bigness of Lichfield, seated in a plain, at the foot of Sierra Morena. It has the advantage of Granada only in the river Guadalquiver, which runs along one side of it, which affords them fish, and is a great refreshment and diversion to them all the year. The country about it is very pleasant and fruitful, the spring much forwarder than at Granada. Figs almost at their full bigness ; the vines had shot out a *Vara* in length. They had beans ten days before we arrived there ; and all this, notwithstanding the spring here, as well as in all other parts of Spain we have passed through, is judged to be a month later than other years. The only thing of curiosity there is the great church, formerly a Moorish mosque : it is an odd but a very curious piece of architecture, an exact square, full of pillars, which makes up a great many little but long aisles. The Spaniards, by placing in it so many altars, and raising in the middle a choir, have much defaced it. It is low-built, and is indeed so contrived as to invite to seriousness and devotion.

From Cordova, in three days we arrived at Granada ; and indeed I must confess, not only Mr. Gregory, but every body else I have heard speak of this place, have been very just in the character they give of it, and commend no more than it deserves. It has the greatest advantage of situation I ever saw. For three leagues about, there is a plain which seems one continual garden, except on the side of the Sierra Nevada, and even the bottom of that hill is green and fruitful. All this is watered by two little rivers which come from the hills, and never fail them all the year round.* Here is great abundance of all things, and commonly very cheap ; only this year the winter has been so very severe, as has something raised the price of things, and particularly of mutton. The city, according to the judgment I could make from so imperfect a prospect, is full as big as Bristol. The greatest part of the city lies down, the rest and the Alhambra upon two hills, to which the ascent is very easy. The buildings generally good ; the streets capable of coaches ; not so spacious as those of Madrid, or yet so narrow as those of Toledo. As for the Alhambra, I never saw any thing I admired more. Their choice in the situation, the magnificence of the fabric, and curiousness of the mosaic work and contrivance in it, cannot be sufficiently com-

* The rivers Darro and Xenil. A traveller in 1628 tells us that the Darro was believed to carry fragments of gold in its stream, and the Xenil fragments of silver. (*Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iv. p. 53.)

mended. It is a piece of antiquity to be seen, not described in words. From it we had a prospect of the city and country, wherein nothing was wanting to please and divert the eye to the highest degree. It is very much decayed and neglected, and it is to be feared little will remain of it, if the Spaniards continue masters of it. From the Alhambra we went to pay our devotion to Monte Sacro, about a quarter of a mile from Granada. This is the place where the books and bodies of several martyrs were found about eighty years ago. The books are pretended to be no ancients than fifty years after the death of our Saviour; the bodies, those of the five disciples whom St. Jago sent to propagate the Gospel. The books are in all twenty-one, writ in Arabic; one only in a language and character not yet known or seen. They are in wooden laminas, formed in the shape of a round box, with *Rotulas* about them in pure Spanish. There was found at the same time two *Vinageras*, a calix of lead, with all other necessities for saying of mass; there was also a leaden lamina, upon which were the words of consecration in Arabic; only with this difference, *Hoc est ip-sissimum corpus meum*, instead of *Hoc est enim corpus meum*. From what I have heard and seen here, and read in the book your Honour gave me in Madrid, I am convinced it is a cheat designed them by the Moors. Every thing concerning this point is forbid them by the Inquisition, though there is an *Oydor* here writing in defence

of them; so that the people here seem to have taken a resolution to be cheated whether the Pope will or no. The Archbishop in whose time this discovery was made has founded there a noble college, where they study philosophy and divinity. He left them a good revenue; but they have spent it in the defence of what he discovered, and are still in a *pleyto* at home to get the Pope's approbation of the books, as well as he has done of the relics, both being found in the same place, and at the same time. There have been of these books two translations; the first the Holy Father, though he understands little of Arabic, did not at all like. The other translation, which is finer made, is more moderate, and comes nearer the Roman style, and so it is hoped will facilitate their approbation. They who make the greatest opposition against them are the Dominicans; for as soon as these books are approved, they must no longer dispute the Immaculate Conception.

I am with all duty, &c. &c.

SAMUEL TERRICK.

Note.

A full account of these pretended discoveries may be seen in Dr. Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. p. 345—383. ed. 1730. "At first," says Dr. Geddes, "they were unanimously judged to be genuine by all the critics and antiquaries. The Archbishop caused a *Te Deum* to be sung with great solemnity in the cathedral and the people's

“ devotion for the mountain which had been delivered of so inestimable a treasure was so great, that in a short time there were above four hundred crosses erected upon it.” But when this discovery was referred to Pope Clement the Eighth at Rome, the Dominicans, who were aimed at in a passage of the manuscript, undertook the part of critics, and put forth ten objections, which must be admitted to have some little weight. Perhaps the first three may be sufficient for the reader : —

1. That the prophecy found in the tower, though dated in the time of Nero, was in true modern Spanish.
2. That St. Cecilius is called in these prophecies Bishop of Granada ; whereas there was no such bishoprick, and no such city, for a great many hundred years after Nero’s death.
3. That in these writings the Moors are named as in Spain, so that the writings were in danger of falling into their hands ; whereas it was nearly 700 years after the death of a Nero before the Moors came into Spain.

An answer was published by the learned Dr. Madera. But as he is obliged to admit the matters of fact alleged in the objections, he is driven in his reply to some rather startling assertions ; such as that the Spanish language was the very same as it is now not only in Nero’s days, but before any Romans ever came into Spain ; and that Arabic was a language used in Spain and

Barbary long before they were conquered by the Arabs. But the great strength of the reply seems to be reserved for the following new arguments: —

First, That these manuscripts and relics have as strong evidence of their being genuine, as those of St. Placidius found in Sicily. “I believe this may be true,” adds Dr. Geddes.

Their second argument is, That “if these writings were supposititious, they must have been forged either by a Mahometan, an Heretic, or a Catholic. The two first, great friends as they are to forgeries of this nature, would not forge writings which should condemn their own sects; and as for a Catholic, he is not capable of so ill a thing as the counterfeiting of writings and putting Saints’ names to them!”

Of the year 1691 I have inserted two letters to Mr. A. Stanhope from his son James, then on his way to Italy, because they described several places and proceedings of the Spaniards; and for the same reason I shall now give two others, written during the War of the Succession.

COL. JAMES STANHOPE TO HIS FATHER
(HON. A. STANHOPE).

Rota, August 29. 1702, N. S.

AFTER a tedious voyage, which was made longer than it needed to have been by having separated

our fleets, we anchored in sight of Cadiz the 12th instant, O. S. The next day was spent in consulting where we should land, our sea and land generals being of different opinions; nor did they that day come to any resolution. Their perplexity was increased by the want of intelligence which could be relied upon; some advices making the enemy to be not above 2500 strong, and others making their strength, what within the walls and what without, less than a day's march, to exceed 7000; nor do I find that we are yet particularly informed of their numbers, though I believe them to be about 4000 within the town and neighbouring forts, which must be taken before we can besiege it, besides about six or seven hundred horse which lie without. This opinion of their strength much superior to what was expected, and the difficulties started by the seamen, determined the council of war to resolve upon landing at the bay of Bulls, and not on the island of Cadiz, which was the Duke of Ormond's opinion. Accordingly, the 15th we made our descent, with far greater hazard and difficulty than had been foreseen by our seamen; for though the weather appeared moderate, there was such a surge on the strand that about twenty boats were sunk, and not a man got on shore who was not wet up to the neck. I must confess I never was so much afraid of drowning, and yet we lost not twenty men; for, to do the sailors justice, I never saw fellows bolder than they were to leap into the

sea and to rescue our men in distress. You will easily imagine that men landed in such a condition, with their arms and ammunition all wet, could not be very fit to encounter an enemy, if any considerable strength had opposed them; yet some of them had an opportunity to show what Englishmen are capable of, for by that time about fourscore grenadiers, most of them of the Guards, were got on shore, got dry powder out of their grenades, and were drawn up in good order by Colonel Pierce of the Guards, there appeared threescore Spanish horse, commanded by a Lieutenant-General Don Felix Vallero, who charged them as briskly as ever I saw men; but were so well received, that their general, two officers, and seven or eight men remained on the spot, and the rest retired and gave us no further disturbance. I am persuaded that two hundred more such would have spoiled our descent; nay, if those grenadiers had given way, I question whether we could have gone on. Our design after landing was to have attacked a little fort called St. Catherine, which was within half cannon shot of us; but our men being thus harassed, and finding it impracticable to encamp there, because we could not be furnished with anything from the fleet upon the least wind that should blow, we marched to this place, and have been these two days landing our horses and provisions. Our next march will be to Port St. Mary's, which is an open place, from whence Cadiz is supplied with provisions; and I doubt not but we may in a short time

absolutely block it up. So that it seems to me that the success of our expedition depends upon one of these two things,—either the stores which they have in Cadiz, or the willingness of our fleet to winter here if there be occasion ; nor shall we desire that till we have made it a secure harbour, by taking all the forts which may annoy our ships. When that is done, I hope Sir George Rooke will be more tractable than we have found him hitherto.

Our men continue pretty healthy as yet ; but we are afraid the heats, which are now excessive, together with fruit and new wine, may bring fevers and fluxes amongst them. However, considering the heats will daily abate, I am persuaded we shall continue strong enough to block up Cadiz, and to maintain ourselves against all the force Spain can bring against us, if our fleet will stand by us.

Port St. Mary's, September 3. N.S.

After writing what goes before, I found no opportunity of sending it till now, so that I shall proceed in giving you an account till this time. On the 18th of August, O. S., I writ a letter in Spanish by the Duke's order, directed to the governor, clergy, gentry, and inhabitants of this town, acquainting them with our resolution to march thither, and inviting them to stay in their houses, where we promised them all manner of good treatment, as the inhabitants of Rota had already found from us. With the letter was sent one of the Duke's declarations, which I send you inclosed. The

Marques of Villadarias * was in the town when our drummer carried it ; and after having threatened to hang him, sent us this answer, “ *Nos Españoles no mudamos religion ni Rey.*” The 20th we marched with cannon, having left 300 men at Rota: 500 Spanish horse attended us during our whole march, in which we lost one horse killed. The 21st we came hither ; and found the town, which appears to be one of the richest in Spain, deserted by the inhabitants. About 300 soldiers of the enemy marched into it at one gate whilst we were coming in by the other : they did not think we had been so near, and their design was only to cross the town and retire to Xeres. We met them in the street ; and some of them were so foolish as to fire upon us, which might have cost them dear, and have occasioned the burning of the town. As I happened to be there I rid up to them, advised them to surrender, and offered them good quarter, which they gladly accepted. About 200 had, upon our appearing, betook themselves to a large strong house ; but upon our besetting it, it surrendered also upon discretion. The same evening I writ by the Duke’s order to the Governor of St. Catherine, a fort which is of great consequence to us, because it hindered our communication with the fleet, and threatened him with hanging if he waited till a cannon was fired.

* The same already mentioned in this correspondence. His conduct before Cadiz was extremely brave and skilful. To a second solicitation from the Duke of Ormond he only answered that *MORI PRO PATRIA* was his family motto, and that he had not degenerated. (Targe, Histoire de Bourbon, vol. ii. p. 268.)

Colonel Pierce with a company of grenadiers was sent with the letter, we believing that he would immediately surrender. He gave no answer that night; but our grenadiers possessed themselves of his batteries (which might have been defended some days), and forced him into an old tower, whither I was sent yesterday to parly with him, and he surrendered at discretion; so that our fleet may now ride in the bay of Cadiz in all security. After that our army shall have been refreshed a day or two here, we shall move on by land towards the bridge which joins the island of Cadiz to the continent, which when we are once masters of, 'tis impossible the town can be supplied with any thing from without, either by sea or by land, and we are told they have not provisions for two months; but were it true that they were provided for six, it is as true they must fall at the end of six months, if our fleet will stay with us; nor need we lose a man to take them in this manner, if the excessive heats and the force of their garrison should discourage us from attacking them in force.

Thus much for news; as to myself, I am, thank God, in perfect health. The Duke is very kind to me. What will become of me this winter I know not, though I believe I shall spend the best part of it in England, especially if I am in Parliament, which I yet know nothing of. I am ever

Your most dutiful and obedient son,

JAMES STANHOPE.

Sept. 4. I am sorry to destroy by this postscript all the hopes you might have conceived by what went before, but I dare venture to assure you that our expedition is at an end from this day. A general council of war of the sea and land officers being held about what should be done next, they are come to no resolution, and are not divided only sea against land, but land against land and sea against sea. Now if it be true that a house divided cannot stand, I am afraid 'tis more true that an army and fleet divided each against itself and each against the other can make no conquests. The seamen here have all along been very resty, and I think truly were alone in the wrong till we came on shore; but since we are got to this rich town many of our landmen have been so intent upon plunder, that little else has been thought of; and certainly never was a solemn Declaration, as is this which I send you inclosed, worse observed: so that the seamen have sufficiently wherewithal to recriminate any mismanagement which we might before very justly have laid to their charge. In all this matter no man is so much to be pitied as my Lord of Ormond, who, with the best and most generous inclinations, will suffer in his reputation by the wilfulness and avarice of others, and be, I truly believe, above ten thousand pounds out of pocket. I have time to say no more, being just going out with two thousand men, commanded by Sir Harry Bellasis, to attack the Marques of Villadarias, who, with his five or six hundred, has got together two or three

thousand rascally foot militia within two miles of us. Our only apprehension is that he will not stay for us. This, I doubt, will be the best success we shall have here, unless our love of plunder should lead us to treat Xeres and St. Lucar as we have done this place. So, with a great deal of plunder and infamy, we shall, I believe, be sailing homewards in three weeks.

COL. JAMES STANHOPE TO HIS FATHER
(HON. A. STANHOPE).

Lisbon, May 31. 1703.

SIR,

IF you have received a letter which I writ last week to my mother, which I desired her to send, you will know that the reason of my long silence was a rheumatism, which seized me at Portalegre so soon as I had marched thither, which was the quarter assigned to my regiment ; it was occasioned, I believe, by the fatigue of the most troublesome march, and in the worst weather that I have known in any country. I made use there of a Portuguese doctor, who, by bleeding and dieting me, had almost done my business ; so that despairing of recovering there, I got a litter, and by easy days' journeys was transported hither. It is now a fortnight since I have been here in the ambassador's house, and am extremely recovered ; insomuch that I hope in a fortnight more to be perfectly well, and able to

return to my post. In the same letter I just mentioned the bad prospect of affairs here, which since that time I am sorry to tell you is grown much worse ; insomuch that if the enemies push their advantage, I see no human possibility of saving Lisbon but by a treaty. Their main army, with their King* at their head, for I am afraid we must now call him so, has marched without any opposition, except what was made by two or three castles very ill defended, above half way from their frontiers hither ; whilst our troops, which if together are more numerous, remain, by the most unaccountable conduct that ever was, divided with the Tagus and the enemies betwixt them. The only body which lay betwixt the enemies and Lisbon was commanded by Lieutenant-General Fagel, and consisted of four Dutch and one Portuguese battalion. With this handful of men he made for some time the best countenance he could, retiring slowly as they advanced ; but at length being come to a post which he thought of consequence to make a stand at, he did so, and has lost two of his battalions, who fought very well, but are all killed or taken. The other battalions were in another post ; and with them he has retired to Abrantes, a large village on the river, where we had our stores, which he writes that he must abandon, it being entirely open. The King of Portugal set out from hence two days before this news. He has with him, or following him from

* Philip the Fifth of Spain: The English continued to call him Duke of Anjou, till the Peace of Utrecht.

this town, about four battalions more, and four or five hundred horse and dragoons, half mounted and half on foot. With this body and the remainder of Fagel's must Lisbon be covered, there being no other within reach of joining the King so soon as the enemies may. Abrantes, we believe, they are masters of ere this, from whence they have twenty leagues to Lisbon. After all this terrible appearance, 'tis possible that want of provisions may retard their march, or that having their King with them they may be cautious of exposing his person by coming so far into an enemy's country, when a body of twelve or fourteen thousand Portuguese, commanded by the Marquez Das Minas, is behind them. But this I will be bold to say, that if these or any other considerations of theirs should save us, it will not be owing to any measures that we take for our own security. That one great reason of this ill state of matters is the ignorance and pride both of these people, and of those who ought to have advised them better, if they had been capable of giving good advice or a good example, I can easily believe; but I fear withal there is something more than ignorance, and that the King of France has his friends here as in other Courts; for inferior officers amongst us have foreseen all that has happened long since, and cried out upon our disposing the troops at no less a distance than the whole length of Portugal, at there being no care taken to make a bridge and to secure a communication over the river, nor to provide magazines to enable the

army to draw together and subsist. In short, if the King of France had had an Intendant here to make a disposition of military matters, it could not have been more to his advantage. If people's suspicions here are well grounded, and that former reports which you have heard be true, that this King used sometimes to cane the Duke of Cadaval, he is in a fair way of being well revenged on his master, for he has the chief direction and command of all the troops. He caressed our Duke* extremely at his arrival, and governed him in every thing, even so far as to make him acquiesce sometimes in dispositions he had made, which were not only disapproved by all officers, but opposed by the King, who suffered himself to be overruled by our Duke. One thing I must mention, which is very extraordinary, and which increases one's spleen at this management, since it shows what would have been if right measures had been taken ; and that is, that notwithstanding the great success of our enemies, and the plenty and licentiousness which are allowed in a victorious army that fears no enemy, there have deserted from them since they took the field two thousand Spaniards.

That you may satisfy yourself of the situation of our affairs by looking into a map, you must know that by our last advices the Marquez Das Minas was with his body marching, or preparing to march, from Almeida towards the Tagus, in order to intercept their convoys. Duke Schomberg, with all

* Schomberg.

the English foot, and all the troops the Portuguese have in Alemtejo, was at Elvas, preparing to march towards the river likewise, over against Santarem, which is between Abrantes and Lisbon, in order to pass it thereabout in boats to come to the King's assistance. The Prince of Tserclaes has a body in Alemtejo, which they weaken or strengthen at pleasure, by sending troops backwards and forwards over the river, which they command, and by that means can bring their whole force together to fall upon either of our bodies if they do not move with great circumspection. The enemy's main body I have already told you that we suppose by this time to be at or near Abrantes, between which and Lisbon we can make up about 4500 men. Besides the vast disadvantage which 'tis evident we lie under by the situation of our armies, whether either of our bodies has carriages or provisions sufficient for their march is a question none of the Portuguese ministers here can answer. I have been but too tedious upon so disagreeable a subject, therefore conclude ; and am, Sir,

Your most dutiful and obedient son,

JAMES STANHOPE.

THE END.

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